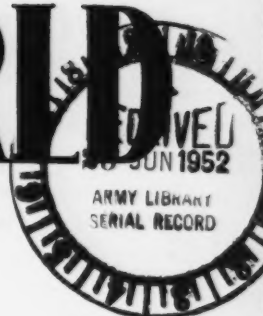


EASTERN WORLD

S.E.ASIA • FAR EAST • PACIFIC



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Number 6

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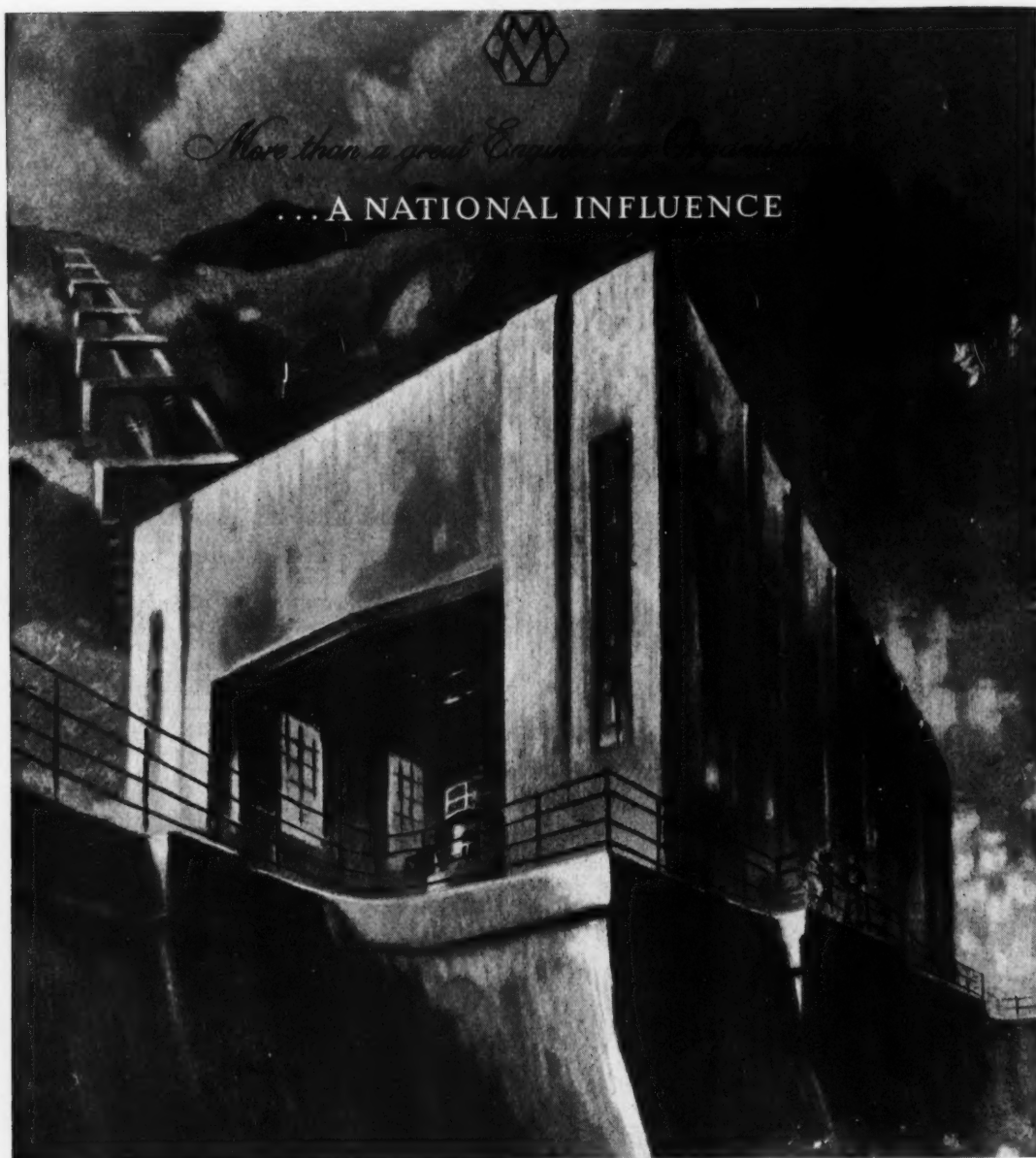
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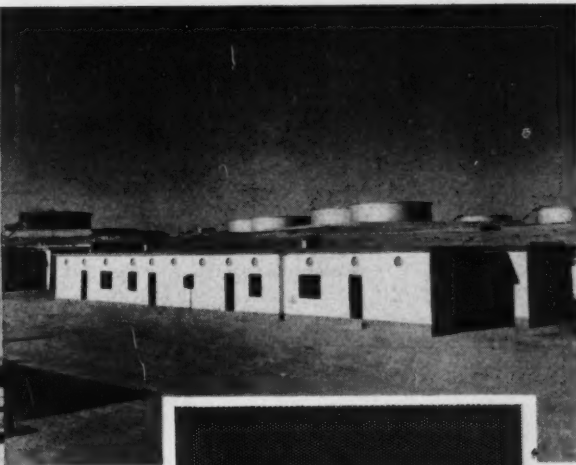
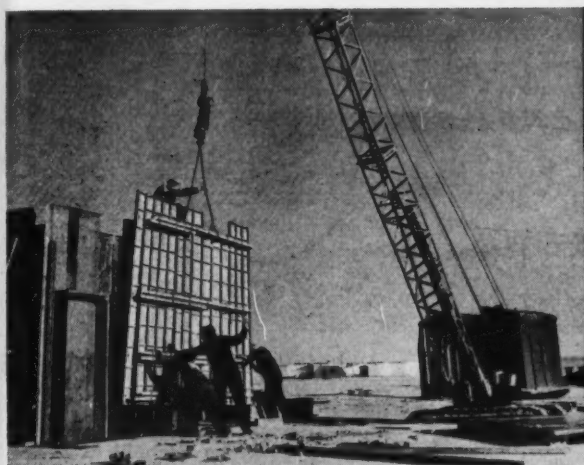
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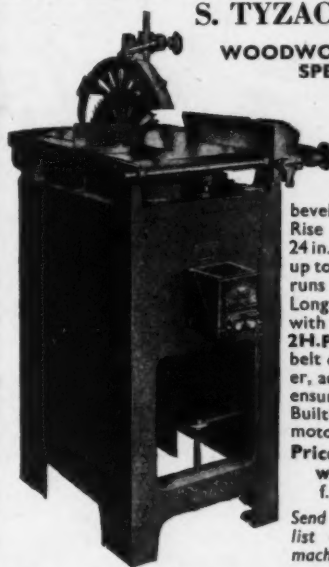


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EASTERN WORLD

BURMA

THIS issue of EASTERN WORLD is principally devoted to Burmese topics. Burma, although still suffering under internal strife which severely hampers her rice production and the development of some of her social and economic plans, is gradually recovering and gaining in international status based on a wise foreign policy. With India the ties are close indeed, partly due no doubt to the fact that the two countries share the ideals of neutrality and independence in international relations, and partly also because the two Premiers Nehru and Nu are good friends. Exchange of ambassadors with the USSR is a thing of recent date and though much lip service is paid by all parties to closer relations with that country no practical steps have been suggested to achieve it. Friendship for Britain has steadily grown, and the British gesture of goodwill in contributing towards the £6 million Commonwealth loan has been greatly appreciated. The American ECA aid has also helped greatly in the rehabilitation of the country, especially of her harbours and airfield. Although Burma's attitude towards friendly foreign aid has never been unduly suspicious, today it is warmly responsive: she is now taking part in the Colombo Plan, and it seems possible for her to find a way to take part in the new American MSA programmes without committing herself to any military alliance. With the People's Republic of China, Burma has diplomatic and cordial relations, though the presence on her borders of a division of Chinese Nationalist troops is a source of embarrassment to the Burmese government. At the last meeting of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris, the Burmese delegate appealed to the nations who are in a position to help to remove this threat to Burma's and, possibly, world peace: Formosa disclaimed all knowledge of the troops; the USA and USSR found in the matter a convenient opportunity to sound warnings against the other party's imperialist designs; the British Foreign Secretary has expressed his opinion in the House of Commons that a UN commission might carry out investigations in Kengtung. The Burmese government has in the meantime mounted a "major military operation" against the trespassers while also placing hope on their eviction by diplomatic action, and though in the ultimate resort the government may have to seek UN help, it seems anxious to retain the initiative for as long as possible. The case serves to remind Burma that to maintain her policy of strict neutrality amidst the active interplay of power politics in the world, she may find it necessary to use her strength and statesmanship almost to exhaustion point.

BRITAIN AND CHINA

TWO vital developments in the economic relations between the United Kingdom and China have recently created a considerable stir. One was that during the Moscow Conference a temporary agreement to the value of ten million pounds was concluded between the British delegates and the Chinese official representatives. The other development was the decision of British firms to withdraw from activities inside China. According to a statement by the China Association in London, this decision does not mean the end of the trade between the United Kingdom and China. The managing director of one of these firms qualified their decision by calling it a "natural evolution," changing from "trading in China" to "trading with China." The attitude of the British Government was clearly stated by the Foreign Secretary who, while fully endorsing the action of the British merchants, stressed his Government's desire for trade with China. Mr. Eden expressed regret that Britain's representative in Peking was cold-shouldered on several occasions, particularly when he attempted to follow up the results of the Moscow conference.

These events have given rise to various rumours and some dangerous speculations as to the likelihood of Britain's withdrawal of her recognition from the Chinese Government. Such a step would constitute a split within the Commonwealth on a major international problem and would lead to differences, particularly with India. Further it would aggravate world tension and would endanger British-Chinese trade. It seems that the Chinese are anxious to expand trade with Britain, and that they wish to do this on a barter basis. The opening of their office in Berlin, headed by a high official of the Chinese administration, makes the establishing of contacts easier for British firms. The next logical step would be for the British Government to invite the Chinese to set up a similar office in London.

KOREA

THE situation in Korea is constantly deteriorating and the British Government's decision to send Lord Alexander to investigate conditions there is to be welcomed. It would be doubly praiseworthy if he were to be accompanied by diplomatic advisers, as the problem is now more of a political than of a purely military nature. The endless, drawn out "truce negotiations" and the lack of information as to the exact nature of the actual deadlock, make it appear as if the matter were the concern of the military representatives only, while the general public are kept in the dark as to the real reasons for the continuation of the war. It is surely time for the rest of the members of the United Nations to make their opinions felt in policy matters which, after all, affect all the nations of the West.

WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By Harold Davies, M.P.

PARLIAMENT was disturbed by the reports from Koje Island prison camp. The news that the fate of prisoners of war led to the breakdown in the Korean Peace talks was not well received by either side of the House. Conversations with colleagues in the Lobbies make it clear that we are not sure in the Commons where Britain stands on the issue of the repatriation of prisoners of war in the United Nations camps.

The Minister of State, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd was subjected to a barrage of questions from the Labour benches on the breakdown of the Panmunjom talks. Mrs. Barbara Castle with her usual adroitness perplexed the kindly Minister by insisting on questioning him. Why, if the prisoners of war are so passionately anti-Communist, that they do not want to be repatriated are they still prisoners of war? Mr Shinwell, who had been Labour's Minister of Defence wanted to know if we are consulted in these Armistice talks and whether we are consulted about the prisoners. It was clear to Members from the Minister's reply that there is no real representation of Britain on the spot.

Barbara Castle insisted that we ourselves should be satisfied that the reasons why these prisoners do not want to be repatriated are sound reasons, because the dragging on of the conflict in Korea endangers world peace. I found Members on both sides uncertain of the methods used in the screening of these prisoners and clearly Parliament is not sure of what is going on either at camps at Pusan or Koje.

Sydney Silverman (Labour) thought that the report of the Red Cross Commission of Enquiry into the proceedings at the prisoner of war camp threw a sinister light upon the assertion that the interrogation was fair and that decisions were voluntary. The Minister of State bluntly asserted that he did not accept as facts Silverman's supplementary question. But already some Members had the Red Cross Commission's report and Tom Driberg (Labour) wanted the Minister to ask permission to send a British delegation to investigate conditions on Koje Island. This

should be done because the fate of Asia and Europe depends upon a solution. No British or Commonwealth troops seem to have taken part in either the screening or the guarding of the Koje Island prisoners.

There are many other grave questions we would like to be certain about. Have there or have there not been eleven changes of Command of Koje Island? Is there serious overcrowding of the prisoners? What exactly are the circumstances in which Brigadier General Dodd was held as a hostage?

Why did Brigadier General Charles Colson sign an agreement with the prisoners, that seemed to admit practices beyond those allowed under the Geneva Convention? Must Admiral Joy's proposals at Panmunjom really be regarded as final when the House of Commons does not seem to know the facts? It is fair to say too that we hear in the Lobbies that Washington is worried.

The Foreign Secretary in a moderate and gently toned announcement told us of the withdrawal of British trading firms from China. This will end the traditional trading relationships that have gone on for many generations. He assured us that every effort would be maintained to keep open channels for trade with China but we learned that the firms out there now complain of discrimination against British firms. Mr. Eden added that the suggestion had been made to the Central People's Government that the requirements of trade in the changed conditions in China might perhaps be met by setting up a new form of organisation. Firms seem to think that an association of representatives of manufacturers and overseas buyers could keep direct contact with the Chinese as a permanent trade organisation.

Many M.P's from the textile constituencies complained during the stages of the Finance Bill about Australia slashing her imports. The Chancellor of the Exchequer drew our attention to the talks that were to take place when the Australian Prime Minister arrived in Britain. Some Members feel that before Mr. R. G. Menzies agrees to any easing of Australia's import cuts he will want higher prices from Britain for Australian butter and meat.

ASIA IN WASHINGTON

By David C. Williams (Washington)

HIGH hopes were aroused throughout Asia when, at the beginning of 1949, President Truman spoke eloquently of the need for technical and economic aid to the peoples of the under-developed areas of the world, and proposed that the United States should undertake a "bold new programme" to provide such aid. Because this declaration was the fourth point in his speech, it has been known ever since by the cryptic and rather unsatisfactory title of "Point Four."

For many months, Point Four was a sickly infant. The President had announced it well in advance of American public opinion (deliberately so, because one of an American President's tasks is to give a lead to public opinion). Inevitably, he had to wait for public opinion, and for Congressional opinion, which always tends to lag behind public opinion, to catch up with him. The outbreak of war in Korea, in June, 1950, put fresh burdens upon the American economy, and made it more difficult to spare supplies, and particularly machinery and other capital equipment, for the underdeveloped areas.

Nevertheless, Point Four, if still in its infancy, is thriving and gives promise of becoming a lively and healthy youngster. The appropriations for technical and economic aid to Africa, Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia are expanding steadily—in the case of India, for example, in spectacular fashion. The President has shown his appreciation for the importance of India by appointing as his Ambassador to New Delhi Mr. Chester Bowles, a leading figure in President Roosevelt's New Deal administration and later the progressive Governor of the industrial state of Connecticut.

Ambassador Bowles began his work in India with a gesture typical of him. For generations, the children of the European and American community in New Delhi have been sent away to school, to European schools in the cooler hill country. Mr. Bowles sent his to the Indian school in New Delhi. When arranging a party at which he was to meet the staff of the Embassy, he insisted on every Indian employee being invited as well as the American staff.

After he had been in India long enough to inform himself of the main aspects of India's problems, Mr. Bowles returned to Washington for a few weeks. He saw President Truman and leaders of his Administration; he conferred with Congressional leaders. To all of them he put the case for aid, not only to India but to all of South-East Asia. Asia, in fact, has acquired a powerful and persuasive friend in Mr. Bowles.

But Point Four has many other friends. For a number of months the Washington representatives of a number of American organizations—trade unions, farmers' organisations, churches, women's clubs, progressive political groups—have been meeting regularly to discuss Point Four problems, and to bring their influence

to bear on Congress for more adequate appropriations. Without making a great deal of noise, this informal working committee has been doing much useful work. It was largely instrumental, for example, in overcoming Congressional resistance to the grain loan for India.

The United States is now entering an election campaign. In the hurly-burly of the struggle over the Presidency, there is danger that the importance of Point Four may tend to be overlooked. The Point Four committee therefore felt that steps should be taken to make people in all parts of America more conscious of the need for the Point Four programme, so that a volume of public support for it would be created so wide and so deep that it would be effective during and after the Presidential campaign.

The Committee therefore set to work to organize a Point Four conference in Washington. It proved successful beyond the most ambitious dreams of its sponsors. Over 1,300 people, representing 300 local, state, and national organizations, came to Washington from every part of the country for the three-day conference. Mr. Nelson Rockefeller and Charles Malik, the Minister of Lebanon to the United States, opened the conference. Panel discussions followed on the problems of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, South and South-East Asia. Next there were discussions of the role that the American Government, international agencies, private organizations like the trade unions, farmers' organizations, churches, and private business might play in providing economic and technical aid to the peoples of the under-developed areas.

The most provocative address of the conference was given by Justice William Douglas, of the United States Supreme Court. He has for many years taken a keen interest in the problems of the non-European countries, and has travelled widely in Asia and the Middle East—his travels, in fact, being the topic of his best-selling book, *Strange Lands and Friendly Peoples*.

Justice Douglas came out strongly for what he called a "Point Five" approach, without which, he said, Point Four in many areas of the world would fail. It would fail because the benefits of technical and economic progress would accrue to the small minority who held economic and political power, and would increase rather than decrease the discontent of the masses of the people. Such a situation, he held, would be an open invitation to exploitation by the Soviet Union and her Communist allies in Asia.

What was needed in such areas, according to Justice Douglas, was "Point Five," a programme of political and economic reform which would give the great majority of the people a real stake in technological progress. In areas where most of the land was owned by a few people, for instance, there should be sweeping programmes of land reform. In other areas, a higher degree of political

democracy was needed. This, he acknowledged, was difficult to achieve, but it should not be neglected. He noted, of course, that in some areas of Asia land is generally held by peasant proprietors, and political democracy does effectively exist.

After the conference had finished, the 1,300 delegates scattered to all quarters of America. They will not, however, forget about Point Four. Many of them will

put it on the programmes of their various organizations, schedule meetings, arrange radio programmes, and in other ways spread the Point Four message. Their efforts will be assisted by a series of regional Point Four conferences. In this and other ways, it is hoped, Point Four will acquire such a wide and firm base of public support that it will survive all the preoccupations and vicissitudes of an election year.

REFUGEE PROBLEM IN BURMA

By U. Khin (Rangoon)

THERE is a saying in Burmese that when two buffaloes meet in combat the tufts of grass beneath them get the worst of it. The truth of this saying is being borne out in Korea and also in our country to-day. During the last war refugees from Burma streamed out from the large towns to the countryside and across to India: it is estimated that near a million refugees died during the trek to India. Now, owing to the insurrections in Burma, the flow of refugees is from the countryside to the towns. The refugee problem has been with us since the last war and it has continued to the present day. The problem is one which can be solved with abundance of *Myitta* (love and goodwill) and good organisation. But its final dissolution will come about only when peace is restored in the entire country.

The Welfare and Relief Department was first started by the Civil Affairs Service (Burma) in 1945; but in 1946 this department came under the administrative control of the Ministry of Public Works and Rehabilitation with a Director of Welfare and Rehabilitation. In 1948 all welfare work relating to women and children was transferred to the Women and Children Board under the Chairmanship of Mrs. Aung San. This Board is now called the Directorate of Women and Children Welfare, and Mrs. Aung San is its Director. In April, 1949, the office of Director, Welfare and Rehabilitation was abolished and its work was carried on by the Rehabilitation section of the Social Services Ministry. In 1950 as the refugee problem became more acute, a Minister was appointed and the Ministry of Relief and Resettlement was formed. The first Minister to handle this new portfolio was U Than Aung, who formulated and put into operation the Emergency Relief Scheme. The present Minister is U Ba Saw, Minister for Minorities and Relief and Resettlement.

Under the Emergency Relief Scheme, there is a Central Relief Committee with headquarters at Rangoon. The Minister for Relief is the chairman with officials and non-officials as members. The function of this committee is to advise the Minister on relief and welfare work. Relief committees have also been formed in every district and township with the Deputy Commissioner or the Township Officer as chairman respectively. Representatives from the various peoples' organisations serve on these committees. The District Relief Committees operate under the instructions issued by the Ministry of

Relief, which sends out also its Zonal Relief Inspectors and mobile Relief Party personnel to help the district committees whenever required. It will thus be seen that the machinery for the grant of relief to refugees in every part of the country is well organised.

The work of the Ministry of Relief and Resettlement is mainly as follows:

- 1) Providing temporary accommodation and essential foodstuffs, such as rice, salt, dhal, oil, in the relief camps for the homeless and destitute refugees.
- 2) Issuing essential foodstuffs to the refugees outside camps free to the destitute, on part payment to those in a position to meet part of the cost, on credit to those temporarily rendered destitute, but able to pay when conditions improve.
- 3) Affording facilities to the able-bodied to obtain work.
- 4) Issuing building materials and household utensils, such as degchies, pots and pans, and textiles, to deserving cases.
- 5) Affording temporary relief to people rendered homeless and destitute by calamities, such as fire, floods, drought, famine, etc.
- 6) Maintenance of surrendered personnel until they are able to return to their homes; journey fares are also paid by the Government.

With the "Operation Flush" recently launched by the Union Government, many villages have been re-occupied by the Government. Following in the wake of the Army, relief has been promptly given in the liberated areas, and resettlement of displaced persons has been speeded up. So far nearly 10,000 families have been resettled, which means that nearly 40,000 people have been able to return to their homes.

In dealing with the relief of the refugees the Ministers, U Than Aung and U Ba Saw, have not lost sight of the necessity to keep up the morale of the refugees. They have travelled all over the country to find out for themselves the requirements of the refugees, and to assure them that the Union Government is conscious of their plight, and is doing all it can to alleviate their sufferings. As most of the refugees are agricultural workers, the Ministry of Agriculture is also seeing that every facility is afforded them to till their fields. Towards that end agriculture loans have been lavishly given to enable the refugee cultivators to buy the necessary equipment and cattle.

BURMESE HISTORY

A Thumbnail Sketch

By D. G. E. Hall

(Professor of the History of S.E. Asia, University of London)

THE original home of the Burmese is thought to have been somewhere between the Gobi Desert and north-east Tibet. The earliest Chinese written records, coming from the latter half of the second millennium B.C., refer to them as the Chiang. Chinese hostility forced them first to take refuge in north-east Tibet and later to trek southwards through the mountains where for many centuries history loses sight of them. They reappear among the Mang tribes under the powerful T'ai empire of Nanchao, which in the eighth century A.D. occupied the west and north-west of Yunnan. In about 850 A.D. in an effort to regain their independence they passed through the region of the Nmai Hka and the Salween and entered the Kyaukse district of Upper Burma just south of modern Mandalay. During the next two centuries they spread out fanwise to occupy Burma proper, roughly from Shwebo in the north to Prome in the south, and northern Arakan.

In Burma they encountered two peoples long established there and with civilisations which had developed through the stimulus of Indian culture, imported mainly from the Tamil countries by sea and partly from Bengal by land. Of these the Mons, who occupied Lower Burma, Tenasserim and the Menam valley in what is now Siam, had been among the earliest of the peoples of South-East Asia to absorb Indian cultural influences. The other race was the Pyu, traces of whom have been found from Halingyi in Shwebo district to Hmawza near Prome. They are mentioned by the Chinese in the third century A.D. and are thought to have been the advance guard of the Burmese themselves. After the arrival of the Burmese they lost their separate identity as a people, presumably through the absorption by the newcomers. The Mons, on the other hand, though conquered by Anawrahta (1044-77), the founder of the empire of Pagan, passed on their culture, including Hinayana Buddhism of the Conjeeveram pattern, to their conquerors, and the first century of Pagan history saw Mon culture predominant in Upper Burma.

The ruins of Pagan on the eastern bank of the Irrawaddy some 150 miles south of Mandalay provide an impressive memorial of the first period of Burmese greatness. The Pagan kings built a series of superb Buddhist temples, the best of which challenge comparison with the glorious shrines of Angkor in Cambodia and the monuments of central Java. Subsequent dynasties built solid pagodas only. As in Cambodia the conversion of the masses to Sinhalese Buddhism during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries brought the great age of temple building to an end. Its monks were devoted to a life of poverty and self-abnegation, and prescribed austerity, solitude and meditation as the road to salvation.

When the invading armies of Kublai Khan brought the ruin of the Pagan Kingship in 1287, the Mons in the south re-asserted their independence, and after a long period of struggles against their northern neighbours achieved a rich and gracious civilisation, which evoked the admiration of the earliest European visitors in the fifteenth century. Their commercial and cultural contacts with the outside world were many, and they produced a fine literature, much of which happily survives to-day.

Away in the north the Burmese had to contend with persistent attempts by the Shans to penetrate and dominate their land. Ava, founded in 1364 as their capital, became their cultural centre where the national literature had its birth and Buddhism flourished. When it was sacked by the Shans in 1527, much of the old civilisation perished. But a new Burmese centre had been developing at Toungoo on the Sittang, and when Ava fell, an energetic king of Toungoo seized the opportunity to assume the leadership over the Burmese. His son, Tabinshwehti (1531-50), aimed at uniting Burmese and Mons again into a single kingdom. He conquered the Mon kingdom and reduced central Burma to submission. But he turned aside to attack Arakan and Siam, and in the process brought his own kingdom to the brink of ruin. It was saved by his successor, Bayinnaung, a born leader of men, who went on to complete the conquest of Upper Burma and of the neighbouring Shan states in the eastern mountains. He in turn wasted his resources in campaigns against Siam and the Laos states of Chiangmai and Luang Prabang; and although he achieved a remarkable degree of success, holding Siam in subjection for a considerable period, he stirred up a national movement of resistance, which under the leadership of the famous Black Prince, Pra Naret, drove out the armies of his son and successor, Nandabayin (1581-99), and subjected Lower Burma in its turn to invasion. This brought about the temporary collapse of the kingdom, since the Mons, upon whom the brunt of the struggle with Siam had fallen, were constantly in revolt, and when the Arakanese joined with rebellious Burmese chiefs to attack Pegu, the capital of the united kingdom, the central government disappeared.

During the interregnum a Portuguese adventurer, Philip de Brito, using the port of Syriam as his base, tried to gain control over the devastated and depopulated Mon country. But in 1613 a grandson of Bayinnaung restored the authority of the Toungoo Dynasty, and the united kingdom received a new lease of life until the next great Mon revolt in 1740. It was, however, too weak even to dream of renewing the expansionist policy of Bayinnaung, and with its capital transferred from Pegu to Ava it became increasingly self-centred and xenophobic. Both the English and the Dutch East India Companies, which

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established factories in the country in the course of the seventeenth century, found the restrictions imposed upon trade unbearable and withdrew.

In 1740 the Mons made their last serious bid for independence. It nearly succeeded. Their surprise capture of Ava in 1752 brought the Toungoo Dynasty to an end. But a Burmese local chieftain organised a successful resistance movement, which recaptured Ava, drove the Mons out of Upper Burma, and raised him to the throne as King Alaungpaya. Then, in a series of campaigns, which ended with the capture of Pegu in 1757, he blotted out Mon independence, this time for good. Thousands of them fled across the mountains into Siam, where their descendants still live. The old Mon port of Syriam was totally destroyed, and, to take its place, Rangoon a few miles upstream, was founded, with the hopeful name of "the end of strife." Only after the lapse of some two centuries have the Mons of Burma begun recently to restore the use of their language and the study of their literature, and thus by a cultural revival to realise their individuality as a people.

Alaungpaya founded the last dynasty of Burmese history, the Konbaungset, which the British brought to an end in 1885. For half a century or more under its leadership Burma became an expansionist conquering power. Her armies overran Siam and destroyed its ancient capital, Ayut'ia, in 1767. Next they repelled a number of heavy Chinese attacks launched from Yunnan. Immediately afterwards Manipur fell a victim to Burmese invasions which deported thousands of its people and

left it a total ruin. Arakan was conquered, and its treatment caused one-half of its population to flee into the neighbouring unadministered tracts of the Chittagong district. Finally Assam, which had been in chaos since the seventeen-eighties, came under the heel of Burmese military domination. Then Bandula, a brilliant young general, the conqueror of Assam, planned to drive the British out of Bengal by a two-pronged attack launched from Assam and Arakan simultaneously, and the conquering career of the Konbaung set came to an inglorious end in the First Burmese War (1824-26).

The British aim was to defend their north-east frontier. They therefore annexed Assam, Arakan and Tenasserim to their Indian empire. Burma proper was untouched, but, it was calculated, would now be too weak to threaten north-eastern India. No further annexation of Burmese territory was desired. They would have restored Tenasserim, which did not pay its way, had not the negotiations been wrecked by Burmese pride. On that same rock foundered every attempt to maintain friendly contact with the Court of Ava, and it soon became evident that a further struggle was inevitable. Thus when in 1852 Lord Dalhousie took a firm stand over a claim for damages brought by two British merchant-captains against the Governor of Rangoon, the Second Burmese War resulted, and the British annexed the province of Pegu, thereby completely cutting off the Burmese kingdom from the sea.

The war caused a palace revolution which brought to the throne a king of high character and undoubted sagacity, Mindon Min. With him Dalhousie strove with much success to build up good relations through Colonel (later Sir) Arthur Phayre, the first Commissioner of Pegu, who possessed an intimate knowledge of the language and people of Burma. But the appearance of France as an imperialist power in Indo-China led to a gradual deterioration of relations, since Mindon, desperately in need of arms to deal with growing disorder in his kingdom, began to look to the French when the British rejected his demands. While he lived there was no danger of war, but his weak successor, Thibaw (1878-85), throwing all discretion to the winds, concluded a treaty with France, whereby he received a French Agent at his court and offered commercial concessions calculated to give French interests a dangerously strong position in his kingdom. As France at the same time was engaged upon the conquest of Tongking and was beginning to threaten the independence of Siam, Britain abandoned the policy of "forbearance," hitherto laid down as the guiding rule in relations with the young king, and in 1885 seized Mandalay and deposed him. And as no suitable successor could be found, the decision was reluctantly taken to annex his kingdom.

From 1886 to 1937 Burma was a province of British India, with an administration which came more and more to follow the Indian pattern. After the long and difficult operations required to overcome the intense resistance organised in many localities, even in Lower Burma, by patriot leaders, Burma was quiescent for a considerable period. The phenomenal development of its rice trade, together with the less spectacular exploitation of its timber, oil and mineral resources, brought such prosperity



The signing of the Burmo-British Treaty on October 17, 1947, at No. 10 Downing Street, London. Mr Attlee is signing, next to him is the late Bogyoke Aung San

as the country had never previously known. But the resultant problems of agricultural indebtedness in the rice-growing areas and Indian immigration, which British administration failed to solve, caused such social disintegration and unrest that they constituted a major factor in the twentieth century resurgence of Burmese nationalism. This movement, closely linked with an anti-Western Buddhist revival, took the British completely by surprise when at the end of the first World War it emerged suddenly into the open as a result of the decision not to apply the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms to Burma. Its first concerted action was a well-organised boycott of government and missionary educational institutions and the establishment of a Council of National Education.

In face of this impressive demonstration of the national spirit the British Government reconsidered its decision, and in 1923 Dyarchy of the type introduced into India two years earlier was established. Under it Burmese ministers responsible to the democratically elected Legislative Council took charge of Education, Public Health, Forest Administration and Excise. The new government took its duties seriously, but the main economic evils remained unchecked, and when the World Slump of 1930 reduced the cultivator class to abject poverty, there was widespread rebellion and other serious social disorders.

In response to the nationalist demands for self-government and separation from India, a scheme for a new constitution was prepared in collaboration with responsible leaders. It was embodied in the India Act of 1935 and came into force in 1937. Under it Burma was separated from India and given a bi-cameral legislature and a cabinet with almost complete control over internal affairs. How long it would have taken her to achieve full dominion Status, had the second World War and the consequent Japanese invasion not intervened, is a matter

of surmise. How far also the measures taken by the new government to cope with the pressing economic and social evils would have borne fruit, is equally impossible to gauge.

Burma suffered more from the war than any other Asiatic country save possibly Japan herself. Her economic system was wrecked. Under Japanese sponsorship she was granted "independence" in August, 1943, but the conquerors looted and exploited her so systematically that the return of the British was regarded as liberation, and the Burma National Army, organised and armed by the Japanese, played a useful part in mopping-up operations against their retreating forces. Its leader, Aung San, created the political organisation known as the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, which became the most potent force in the country, when British administration was restored. His professed aim was independence, and when in October, 1946, he and his chief associates were appointed to the Governor's Executive Council, negotiations began with the British Government, which ultimately resulted in the establishment, on January 4, 1948, of the independent Union of Burma.

Aung San was murdered by a political rival before the new state saw its birth. Before his death he had worked hard to reconcile the various non-Burmese races to the new order. But he was up against tremendous problems, and in particular the persistent demand of the Karens for autonomy and the attempts of the Communists to wreck the established order. After the achievement of independence the two parties cooperated in a rebellion which reduced much of the country to disorder, and has since militated powerfully against its economic recovery. The Union Government is still far from being master in its own house, but the A.F.P.F.L. remains the strongest political factor in the country, and given world peace and freedom from outside interference, may yet achieve the ideals of its founder.

THE BURMESE POLITICAL SCENE

By Maung Maung Pye (Rangoon)

SINCE her independence four years ago, Burma has undergone a multitude of trials and tribulations. To get a clearer view of the situation in the country, a brief survey of post-war politics in Burma may be interesting.

When the new independent Republic of Burma was established on January 4, 1948, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, inspired, founded and organised by the late Bogyoke Aung San, enjoyed the support of the entire country, and, as the only political organisation in the country, it controlled the destiny of Burma. It was Bogyoke Aung San who consolidated the AFPFL and kept away any sign of dissension. However, after his death, the rift in the AFPFL's lute began to widen when some of the component parties in the League became restive. It will be recalled that the AFPFL was composed of two Communist Parties, one led by Thakin Soe, who had played a prominent part, together with Bogyoke Aung San, in the resistance movement against the Japanese. The Communist Party, led by Thakin Soe, called themselves the Red Flag Communists. Later they were called by foreign observers "Trotskyists," owing to their extreme orthodoxy. This party had remained underground in accordance with their policy that any independence wrested from the hands of the Imperialists, without a war, was unreal. On the other hand, the White Flag Communists, known abroad as "Stalinists" for their milder type of communism, were led by Thakin Than Tun, who was related to Bogyoke Aung San by marriage. Soon after the death of Bogyoke Aung San, the two Communist parties aspired to wrest leadership from the AFPFL and to take over the administration of the country. Nevertheless, these two parties, differing greatly in their political outlook and in the strength of their respective supporters, were no match for the well-established AFPFL which, at that time, had in its organisation the People's Volunteer Organisation, which had played a tremendous role in the resistance movement.

The split between the two Communist parties was more or less the outcome of latent personal rivalry between Thakin Soe and Thakin Than Tun. Thakin Soe, who had most of the time remained underground, contended that only those who had been in the perpetual struggle for independence could give the correct leadership and that Thakin Than Tun, who had served as a Minister during the Japanese occupation period, had no right to that leadership. Thakin Than Tun, on the other hand, maintained that politics is a game where also diplomacy has its place in the struggle for power. Embittered by life-long underground conflicts, Thakin Soe submitted a memorandum at a meeting of the Burma

Communist Party held in March, 1946. In it he severely attacked Thakin Than Tun and Thakin Thein Pe. This memorandum immediately resulted in a split between the two Communist Parties.

Thakin Soe is no doubt a very picturesque personality. He is a man of extreme ideas, sometimes ruthless in his methods. He does not believe in toleration and he does not ask for any. His party has not been able to make much headway in its struggle against the AFPFL. Moreover, his creed has little appeal for the labouring classes simply because Buddhism makes it impossible for the average Burman to accept either the Red or the White Flag Communists' ideologies.

Apart from bridge destroying tactics and attempts made at disrupting surface communications, both these Communist groups have not been able to achieve their main objective of overthrowing the Government.

Of the other groups of insurgents, mention may be made of the People's Volunteer Organisation, the KNDOs and the Army deserters and the Ministerial servants who went underground. The People's Volunteer Organisation, though once very popular with the people, was later found guilty of certain excesses and irregularities among its rank and file, and it was felt that it contained many undesirable elements. It is interesting to note that with the decline of the PVOs, the Socialists' prestige was enhanced, their claim to popularity being based on their championing the cause of the cultivators and the workers. By this time party rivalry had become acute, and the PVOs openly declared themselves to be unyielding enemies of the Socialists and they began to demonstrate their sympathies for the Communists. Then followed the breakdown of negotiations between the Communists and the AFPFL in 1949, the PVOs who had posed as mediators throwing in their weight on the side of the Communists, and ultimately going underground in July, 1949.

In the regular army of the country itself, certain service grievances were capitalised by power seekers who imagined that they could retain power through the army just as the late Bogyoke Aung San did. One of the grievances of the army was that though they had played an important part in the struggle for independence, it was the politicians who took the largest piece of the cake. They also thought that they had equal claim with the politicians to power and that they were as well fitted to be members of the Cabinet as the politicians. Thus, when the Communists went underground and revolted against the AFPFL, two battalions of the Burma Army mutinied, personal ambition being the main reason for the mutiny. This was soon followed by some members of the Ministerial Services Union, which had been described as

a post-war phenomenon. In the case of these people it was the same objective, namely, a desire for power. When the KNDOs took up arms against the Government and the insurrections were at their height, the Ministerial Services Union went on strike and many of its members went underground.

The avowed objective of the KNDOs in their struggle against the Government was the attainment of an autonomous Karen State. After the Government, on the recommendation of the Regional Autonomy Commission, had decided to set up a new Karen State and had even granted a general amnesty to all Karen insurgents, there still remained a section of recalcitrant insurgents who thought it worth while to carry on with their activities against the Government. The general amnesty granted by the Government was taken advantage of by a good number of insurgents including a section of the PVOs, who returned and set up their own headquarters in Rangoon. The KNDOs on the other hand continued their activities even after the fall of their leader Saw Ba U Gyi. Their destructive tactics generally took the form of burning and raiding villages. That was the political picture before the General Elections were held towards the end of 1951.

While the insurrections were at their worst, the AFPFL as the party in power had begun to consolidate its position and to prove to the country that it was strong enough to resist all attempts to deprive it of its position. The greatest danger to Rangoon was when the KNDOs, under the leadership of Saw Ba U Gyi, started the insurrection in Insein about eight miles from Rangoon. While the insurrection in Insein was at its height, the Government tried to come to terms with the insurgents. There was a temporary truce while the peace proposals were proceeding. Unfortunately, however, the negotiations broke down and the fighting was resumed, resulting in the ultimate defeat of the KNDOs in Insein.

At the height of the KNDO insurrections, just prior to the death of Saw Ba U Gyi, Thakin Ba Sein was reported to have contacted Saw Ba U Gyi in an attempt at what he called "Peace Parleys." Thakin Ba Sein was later detained under Section 5 of the Peace and Order Protection Act. After the death of Saw Ba U Gyi, it was felt that the insurrections as far as the KNDOs were concerned, would show signs of decline. This was proved otherwise by later events.

The insurgent groups, such as the unrepentant White PVOs led by Boh Po Kun, a former Cabinet Minister, and the Communists of both brands, continued their destructive tactics throughout the country. On the other hand, the repentant PVOs under Boh La Yaung found themselves more inclined towards the Opposition, finally aligning themselves with the Opposition Group. Today, the PVOs are renamed the "People's United Party of Burma." Just before the general elections were held, a split occurred in the Burma Socialist Party and the defecting Socialists, led by Thakin Lwin, U By Nyein, a former Class (I) Officer and others, immediately set up the Burma

Workers' and Peasants' Party with a declared Leftist policy.

When the General Elections were held, the Opposition, comprising the PVOs, the People's Peace Front, led by U Aung Than, brother of the late Bogyoke Aung San, and the Mahabama Party, led by Dr. Ba Maw's son-in-law, was ranged against the AFPFL. Also throwing in their lot with the Opposition were some of Burma's veteran politicians such as U Ba Pe, a former Cabinet Minister both in pre-war days and in the late Bogyoke Aung San's Cabinet, U Chit Hlain, a former Speaker of the House of Representatives and others. The Dohbanta Asiyone which had at first identified itself with the Opposition later left it over certain differences of opinion while the Burma Democratic Party led by Thakin Ba Sein, steered an independent course advocating Burma's alignment with the Anglo-American bloc. When the elections were actually held the AFPFL were victorious and the Opposition was hopelessly defeated, with the exception of U Chit Hlaing, a politician who had endeared himself to the masses in Moulmein. The elections were followed by the usual protests and counter protests and the Elections Tribunal is still sitting to hear the election petitions by the Opposition candidates.

While Communists and KNDOs and the remaining PVOs continue their revolt, the AFPFL's position after the elections has become more consolidated.

The Opposition group, disunited in many ways, has not been able to oust the AFPFL from power. Though it is felt that the Socialists are the actual masters of the political scene in Burma just now, the general masses have come to accept the Socialist Party's policy of "Nationalisation" leading ultimately to a "Socialist State."

The Opposition continues to try to achieve unity among its component parties and it has made capital of the KMT issue. Quite recently Dr. Ba Maw strengthened the Opposition by forming the "Triple Alliance" party composed of his own group, the BWPP and the group under U Aung Than. In the absence of a strong united front presented by the Opposition, the political scene has not been changed much for the present.

Following the presence of Kuomintang troops on Burma's border, the Opposition parties have now asked the Government to allow them to form a National Volunteer Organisation to drive out the KMT intruders. But the Government promptly rejected this on the grounds that such an organisation could be conveniently turned into a pocket army. When the Opposition party insisted on the formation of such an organisation, the Government had no other recourse but to ban any attempt made to organise any group or groups with the avowed objective of dealing with the Chinese troops, though it would not be quite right to say that the Government ignored the implications of the presence of Chinese troops on its border. There was no doubt that the Government had already launched operations to drive out the intruders, and this fact has often been made

public by responsible Ministers, including the Prime Minister.

The latest political situation in Burma still remains fluid, though there are signs to indicate a change for the better.

The Opposition party or parties have changed their tactics to a large extent, and much is being made of

the necessity of preserving peace in the country and the world.

It is to be hoped that in a few months from now and before the next anniversary of the country's independence is celebrated, the Government will have ended all the the insurrections and paved the way to peace and prosperity.

BURMA LOOKS FORWARD

By Maung Maung

IF, with political freedom, Burma had entered into a period of tranquillity, she would probably have lapsed into blissful lethargy and complacency and taken an unending long holiday. But instead, the country was plunged into insurrection and bloodshed.

Foremost among the rebels were the Communists. Stalinist "White Flags" and the Trotskyite "Red Flags" took up arms and looted government treasuries and blew up railway bridges with home-made dynamite; land was distributed to the farmers, government stores were broken open to the "liberated" peoples, and there were rich shares, though how fair would be questionable, for the liberators and the liberated. Then, lured on by the rewards of the field, the People's Volunteer Organisation followed. After the fashion of the Communists, they too broke into two factions: the "White Bands" who rebelled and the "Yellow Bands" who remained loyal to the government. The Karen revolt almost delivered the fatal blow to the infant state. Fighting for an autonomous region within the Union of Burma, the Karens who rebelled—a small but active part of their total population—became the most formidable challengers of the government's authority. Some government troops mutinied, and with some more armed groups of unknown identity prowling the country and preying on undefended rural districts, the confusion was complete. This situation, coming so soon after independence, opened Burma's eyes to the realities of life and shook her into activity, and with it the realisation that freedom has its problems and its responsibilities.

Today real signs of recovery are visible and there is ample evidence that Burma will not easily forget the lessons that she has learnt during the past few bitter years. For example, the 1951-52 Budget, which the Finance Minister has fondly called the "Welfare Budget," is one of hope and optimism. Comparatively generous provisions have been made for education, public health and medical and other social and economic welfare services which have occupied, of necessity, the bottom of the priority ladder in previous years. Then the desperate need was to survive; today the emphasis has shifted to stability and welfare. The 1945-50 budget gave the security forces priority over all other services. Men to fight the rebels and guns to fight them with were what mattered, little else did. A 25 per cent. retrenchment in the personnel of the government services, except of course the armed forces and the police, was attempted. Those who were spared by the axe had to take a reduction of from 15 to 25 per cent. of their salaries; the President,

the Ministers and those high officials whose salaries are protected by the law volunteered the surrender of 25 to 50 per cent. of theirs. Those were difficult years. Today peace has been restored to a large extent and long-term plans for building the welfare state are being put into operation.

In the present Budget education gets 462.62 lakhs of rupees* on the current and 124.12 lakhs on the capital accounts, not an overlarge provision but sufficient to launch some important projects. Tuition in all state schools and the university is now free; more schools have been opened and the goal of compulsory secondary education is not too remote; more teachers are being trained though, it is hoped, not mass-produced. The Burma Translation Society is producing books in Burmese for general consumption while the publications department of the university is translating college textbooks into Burmese and compiling a Burmese-English dictionary. An important innovation is the government-sponsored mass education movement; field workers are recruited and trained and sent out into the country to carry education in citizenship to the bamboo huts of the villagers. An education mission of leading educationists is visiting the United Kingdom, the United States, Mexico and other countries to collect material and information, and learn the techniques that may be useful in driving forward the crusade in educating Burma.

A promise for the future was also held out by the first general elections which have recently been completed. The elections were held on a regional basis and beginning in June, 1951, with some 75 out of the 250 constituencies, by the end of the year most of the electorate had voted. Over 40 per cent. of the voters went to the polls, and in most cases the elections have been fair and free. The great value of the elections probably lies in the fact that they have drawn out old political leaders who had been living in retirement and watchful waiting, and brought up new parties and new leaders. The government coalition, the Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League, has come out, with Socialist support, with a clear majority, but a considerable number of "independents" were also successful, and their success may be read as a sign of a stirring of active and democratic political life, and a promise of an organised and orderly opposition in Parliament. The Burmese are not given to violence in politics, and the experiment of parliamentary democracy

* 1 lakh — 100,000; 1 rupee — 1s. 6d.

carried out under the Government of Burma Act of 1935 and interrupted by the war was fairly successful. A few more free elections, and all ideologies and personalities should find themselves represented in the two chambers, and there settle their differences in the usual ways, not excluding perhaps fistic battles. The turmoil and conflicts of political life should then be contained within the walls of the chambers. Enduring peace should then prevail in the country.

The election of the first President and composition of his new Cabinet show thoughtfulness and imagination. The President, Dr. Ba U, was a distinguished lawyer who later became the first Chief Justice of the Union, but his value to the presidency will lie in the great prestige he has gained as chairman of the Regional Autonomy Enquiry Commission which has done such good work in helping the minorities, especially the Karens, to secure their rights and gain faith in the Union. Like Sao Shwe Thaik, the Shan chief who has served the country well as Provisional President, Dr. Ba U should do much to uphold the dignity of his office. U Nu has also been persuaded to serve the country for a few more years as Premier before he devotes himself exclusively to religion and literature, and under his leadership a team of "independents," socialists and experts have joined to form the government. The Cabinet has been enlarged and one of the new portfolios is that for Culture. The appointment of Mrs. Ba Maung Chien, a Karen lady who is an inspired social reformer, as the first head of the new Karen state and thus the first woman member of the central Cabinet is also bound to be popular.

The insurrections have done great mischief in Burma. In an anniversary message, General Ne Win, the Supreme Commander of the armed forces, has submitted to the nation the "roll of honour" accounting for 3,772 men who had been killed or wounded or reported missing. That was in 1951, and since then more names have doubtless found their way into the roll. Civilian and other casualties have also been estimated, about that time, at 30,000, and again the estimate may well be on the conservative side. Government property looted or destroyed has been valued at £225 million. It will probably take five years of peace and united national endeavour to repair the damage done, and twenty more to bring within sight the welfare state of fair and plentiful shares for all that has so far been only the talk of politicians and the dream of the people. The peace that has been restored must remain at best precarious so long as armed bands roam the jungle and hills and descend at strategic moments on the helpless village or the unprotected railway train. The government's answer to the problem of the wandering adventurers has been stern punishment in the field for those who fought for plunder, amnesty and welcome to active political life for those who were genuinely inspired by sincere political purpose, in order to prove to the people that it pays to abide by the law. How vigorously and persistently the government will pursue the course must depend on how soon consummate peace will return and how long it will stay. The offer of amnesty has been taken advantage of by the PVOs who have joined the "rehabilitation battalions" organised by the government in which they can learn to be craftsmen while helping



Rice planters in Burma

to build new Burma. Some Communists too have left their more stubborn comrades behind to join the rehabilitation battalions or to play more worthy parts on the political stage. Reconciliation with the Communist parties who are now "underground" would greatly reinforce national strength and enable the government to devote all its energies to rehabilitation and the development of the country's economic resources, but at the moment the prospect of such reconciliation seems remote. Parliament has recently rejected a proposal to parley with the Communists; on their part the Communists seem to be hoping for help from abroad that would take a more tangible form than expressions of sympathy. All the more tragic is this gulf between the government parties which are dedicated to state socialism and the Communists who preach the same principles but are vague about the actual programmes, because all the parties can meet on the same platform and work together towards the same objectives. The Burma Peasants and Workers Party, an openly pro-Soviet Marxist organisation led by able intellectuals, is being given a fair chance and has won a few seats in Parliament and may well become the nucleus of an organised opposition.

Time and circumstances permitting, Burma should be able to set her house in order and make herself a worthy member of the family of nations. In her conduct of world affairs she is guided by loyalty to the principles of the United Nations charter and her policy of correct and friendly neutrality in a world divided. Her experience of the wartime Japanese-sponsored Co-prosperity Sphere has not been happy and she is therefore shy of rival blocs and alliances whatever their declared purpose; thus her reluctance to commit herself to even the idea of an "Asian bloc" while she has been willing to enter into bilateral treaties of friendship with India and Indonesia, Pakistan and other Asian countries.



Some members of the Committee of Enquiry. Left to right (front row): U Khin Maung Gale, U Nu, U Tin Tut, Lord Ogmores, the Sawbwa of Mongpaw, the Duwa Sima Hsinwa Nawng, Vum Ko Hau, Saw Sankey; (Back row): U Tun Pe, W. B. J. Ledwidge, Sao Boon Waat, Major Shan Lone

IN the early part of 1947 I was invited by the Governments of the United Kingdom and Burma to become the Chairman of the Burma Frontier Areas Committee of Enquiry. Our terms of reference were to enquire into the best method of associating the Frontier peoples with the working out of a new constitution for Burma, bearing in mind that the objective of the two Governments was "to achieve the early unification of the Frontier Areas and Ministerial Burma with the free consent of the inhabitants of those areas."

The frontier areas surrounded Burma proper like a horseshoe. They comprised 47 per cent. of the total area of Burma with a population of 16 per cent. of the total. The main races in the Frontier areas were Shan, Kachin, Chin, Karen, Naga, Palaung-Wa, Wa, Lolo Moso and Ta'i, with substantial numbers of Burmans, Chinese and Indians.

The Committee consisted of four members representing Burma (including one Karen) and four representing the Frontier Areas (one Shan, one Kachin, one Chin, one Karen) with myself as Chairman. Our Secretariat was one British and two Burma Frontier Areas Civil Servants, and a loyal and hard-working staff of advisers, interpreters clerks, shorthand writers and typists. We held most of our meetings at Maymyo, but a few at Rangoon. We came to unanimous recommendations and presented a Report which was published separately as a Burma and a United Kingdom White Paper (Cmd 7138).

This Report gives a useful summary, or so I think, of the background to the problem, of our proceedings in Committee and of our conclusions. No more of these need be said. Memory, however, retains other impressions; mind pictures not embodied between the pages of the official document and of these I shall write.

Several of the Committee and myself went on a tour of the Northern and Eastern frontier areas and to get there had to traverse the whole of Ministerial Burma. Later we had another long journey to Maymyo. My first memory, therefore, is of unsettled conditions. There were two brands of Communists and a variety of bandits.

BURMA MEMORIES

*By Lord Ogmores**

Going through one of the worst areas we mislaid our military escort, which had stopped for coffee and had not thought it necessary to tell us. We decided to let speed be our defence and rushed like mad things through Central Burma, past slow-moving bullock carts and bands of Communists in pink sun helmets, carrying long staves. The Communists would halt and turn to look at us in wonder, but we were past and gone. Our Burman driver, a small, young man with wild eyes and a shock of hair, crouched, rocking and swaying, on the driver's seat, crying, moaning, singing, praying. Later we edged past a pitched battle between Communists and a battalion of my own regiment, the Welch, and we were clear. Our assistant Secretary Major Shan Lone was in charge of the baggage. He literally, with a Sten gun, fought his way through to Maymyo and my clean shirts and pyjamas arrived untouched.

My second memory is of the unexpectedness of the country. One evening towards dusk we were coasting down from the high lands on the narrow mountain road to Toungoo. Suddenly as we turned a corner, there on the narrow edge of the sheer side of the precipice was the most enormous elephant I have ever seen. "Thunder," cried our driver, "This is very awkward. Some of these fellows do not like cars." The elephant looked at us. We looked at the elephant. We edged slowly forward. The elephant loomed above us like a cathedral. His little beady eyes were hostile. We, to placate him, made ourselves as unobtrusive as possible in the car, then, having passed him, we shot away.

My third memory is of our happy relations on the Committee. U Nu, or Thakin Nu, as he was then called, the present Prime Minister, was of a shy and retiring nature and although known as the special confidant of Aung San, had not previously taken a prominent part in public affairs. After some preliminary reserve, he thawed out and showed himself to be an amiable and even genial companion. We soon became fast friends. U Nu had a keen sense of humour. He would laugh with the rest of us at some drollery in the course of the proceedings and then for a little time afterwards whenever the humour struck him afresh, he would shake helplessly with silent and uncontrollable laughter. He took an active part in the affairs of the Committee.

*Formerly Lieut. Col. D. REES-WILLIAMS, M.P.

U Tin Tut worked hard in the Committee. He was one of the cleverest men I have ever met and the most hard-working. He was the perfect Civil Servant, with a vast range of ordered, precise knowledge always neatly tabulated in his mind. He was not cut out for a politician and it was a great pity that he ever left the Civil Service for the dangerous lure of the political scene. He hated his one and only election. In his death, Burma lost a great public servant.

Then there was Sao Sam Htun, Sawbwa of Mongpaw, a gentle, kindly man, drawn away from his little Principality in the Shan States to represent the Shan Federation on the Committee. When we visited the Shan States together, we were greeted by a party of youths, gracefully moving in and out in the rhythm of the flower dance. In his State we were entertained by the village postman and the village policeman, in ancient costumes, dancing the sword dance. They danced it with none of the realism and rather grim technique of the Kachins who had danced it for us a few days before; it seemed when the village worthies performed it as pacific as "Sir Roger de Coverley" or a barn dance. When they had finished, the little pupils of the village school all started without premeditation, weaving and winding in poetic mimicry of their elders. Having waited until the dance was over, the Sawbwa's little children ran up to him and clung to his hand, expressing their love and their delight in seeing him again. They were motherless children and were soon to be fatherless, also.

The Duwa Sima Hsinwa Nawng was a considerable Kachin Chieftain. We had our little differences at first, but I came to esteem and indeed to like him. He was a man of a type rather more commonly met with in the days gone by than those of to-day, but he had sterling qualities. He stuck to his guns and did well for his people. When I was about to leave the country he came to see me. He told me how his father and grandfather had fought us and how he too had had serious differences of opinion with us. Now we the British were leaving Burma, "I want you to know," said the Duwa Sima Hsinwa Nawng, "that in spite of it all, I and my family never bore the British any malice. It was all in fair fight."

When I next landed in Burma a few years later, on my way to Hong Kong by air, although I had notified no one that I was passing through, there on the airfield to meet me was the Duwa with others of my former Committee.

U Khin Mawng Gale, the Burma Historian of our party, Vum Ko Hau, the representative of the Chins, Saw Myint Thein and Saw Sankey, the two Karens, were all young, keen and attentive, and gave of their best. It was in fact a young Committee, not a member of it, except possible U Tin Tut, was fifty years of age.

We took evidence from a wide variety of witnesses. One in particular stands out in my mind. He was a Wa, one of a people from the Eastern frontiers where they were not administered at all; once upon a time head hunters, so some said, with curious ideas on diet. This Wa was a cheerful little man and laughed happily when he came before the Committee, undeterred by the solemnity of the occasion. I was rather worried about

him, he was so primitive, he had never before been out of his jungle. I asked Shan Lone to go and find him. Some hours later Shan Lone came back. "You need not worry about the Wa," said Shan Lone, "he is having the time of his life. He has been to the bazaar and is sitting in his room surrounded by his purchases, stoves, tinned meat, kettles, gramophones and goodness knows what. He is in the seventh heaven of delight."

My chief wonder was why no painters, artists or poets have sufficiently extolled the variety and beauty of Burma. the hot, moist luxuriance of Lower Burma, the arid sweep of the Dry Zone, the Irrawaddy losing itself beyond Myitkyina in the foot hills of a mighty mountain range, the broad, undulating grasslands of the Shan States, the inland lake of Inle, the vast sombre forests of the Kachin country, the precipitous roads of Karenni. And everywhere joyous people in gay clothing, talking, laughing, singing, drinking coffee, and even sometimes working and everywhere Buddhist Shrines, Buddhist temples with tinkling bells, Buddhist monks in saffron robes, reminding the traveller that in our restless, uncertain age this was a country where things spiritual still held their proper place.

The Committee was successful in its labours and made a report which was acted upon, pretty well in its entirety, by both Governments. The difficulties were great but solutions to the problems were found. They were found because the men around the table wanted them to be found. I feel there is a moral in this tale, somewhere.



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Wesak Celebrations

WESAK, commemorating the birth, enlightenment and death of the Buddha was celebrated on May 9 in most countries where there are Buddhists. The full moon day of Wesak has hitherto been observed only by those countries where Buddhists predominate while elsewhere different dates were maintained for the event. In accordance with an agreement reached at the last world convention of Buddhists, Wesak full moon day is now being observed as the day specially sacred to the memory of the Buddha, although Japan still celebrates Wesak in April.

Wesak celebrations were held in several places in the British Isles. In London, a large meeting was addressed by Mr. Christmas Humphreys, the President of the Buddhist Society, the Bhikku U Thittila, and Lt. Col. Payne of the Buddhist Vihara Society. Messages were received from the newly formed Buddhist societies of Edinburgh, Oxford and Cambridge, and from the societies of Manchester and Birmingham. The meeting ended with a recitation by the Bhikku U Thittila of part of the *Metta Sutta* in Pali, and a two minute silence at the request of the World Fellowship of Buddhists.

The World Fellowship of Buddhists, whose headquarters are in Colombo, has arranged to hold the Second World Conference in Japan this year, from September to October. The Japan Buddhist Council who are in charge of the Conference, are inviting representatives of Buddhist groups in all parts of the world. The purpose of the Conference is to promote cooperation among Buddhists, to raise the standard of Buddhist culture and to promote Buddhist teaching. The Japanese sponsors are convinced that the international position and environment of Japan at the present time is such that Japan is the most suitable country for such a conference. 1952 marks the 1,400th anniversary of the introduction of Buddhism to Japan.

In Burma, Buddhism has been undergoing a revival, assisted by official measures, including the establishment of a Ministry of Religion whose main task is the promotion of Buddhism. The teaching of Buddhism has been intensified and Buddhist leaders are aiming at restoring to Buddhism the status it enjoyed in pre-British days. Recently a new Buddhist World Peace Pagoda was erected outside Rangoon under the auspices of Premier U Nu to house a set of Buddhist relics sent by Pandit Nehru. It is planned to create a Buddhist University around the pagoda.

American Aid for Chinese Intellectuals

A PROGRAMME to help some 10,000 refugee Chinese intellectuals to resume useful lives and prepare for leadership in a future "free China" was recently announced in America. A private organisation, the "Aid Refugee Chinese Intellectuals," is trying to raise \$1 million to finance its programme.

The majority of Chinese intellectuals whom the plan will aid are in Hong Kong and the organisation will try to resettle as many as possible outside the colony and to enlarge education and medical facilities in Hong Kong and elsewhere.

The organisation reports that some 200 refugees from Communist China are escaping to Hong Kong each week. Among them are 8,000 refugee scholars, scientists and professionals. The new scheme is backed by some of the leading figures in American public life, such as General George C. Marshall, Senator Robert A. Taft and Mr. Harold E. Stassen, President of the University of Pennsylvania. Speaking at one of the meetings held by the organisation, Mr. Dean Rusk, the President of the Rockefeller Foundation and formerly Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, said "There are many of us who are not convinced that dictatorship has come to China to stay," and added that "It becomes important that there be preserved a large body of trained and competent Chinese in communities outside the borders of China who could be available to the Chinese people when freedom returns to that unhappy land."

Exhibition of Ceylon Manuscripts

AN exhibition of historical manuscripts was opened this month at the Colombo Art Gallery. Among the notable exhibits is the Oruvala Sannas, a silk scroll, containing a religious message in Siamese letters. Documents relating to Portugal's connection with Ceylon are difficult to come by since the Portuguese destroyed most of the documents they had in Ceylon. The originals had to be traced back to various sources in Lisbon and the Vatican Archives. These include letters and signatures of Bhuvaneka Bahu, King of Kotte, Don Juan Dharmapala, King Senarat, King of Kandy and the Treaty of Peace between the King of Kandy and the Portuguese.

Signatures of interest relating to the Dutch period are those of Rajasinha of Kandy, Gerard Hulft, after whom Hulftsdorp is named, a contemporary duplicate of the Dutchan Convention and the Peace Treaty between the Dutch and the King of Kandy in 1766.

The journal of Hugh Boyd, 1781-82 is also shown. Boyd, chased on the high seas by French and Dutch warships, threw this journal into the sea to prevent it from falling into the hands of the Dutch. It was picked up, however, and preserved in the Government Archives, still bearing the stains of salt water.

Among the books on view are the first book ever to be printed in Sinhalese in Ceylon, a magnificent first edition of Knox's *Historical Relation of the Island* in superb condition, and the French version of Percival's *Ceylon*, which had been in the possession of Napoleon Bonaparte.



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Letters to the Editor

Indians in Ceylon

Dear Sir,—I read with growing alarm the article on Indians in Ceylon appearing in your April issue. This is a subject on which there are conflicting opinions; but there is no quarrel as to the facts of the situation, facts which your correspondent has noted incorrectly.

The number of Ceylon Indians according to the Census of 1946 was 816,313 and according to the report on vital statistics for 1949 was about 900,000, and not over a million as reported.

The Ceylon Government has not at any time threatened to confiscate the wealth and property of any community. It is *not* pursuing a policy designed to assimilate all the Ceylon Indians as Mr. Devarajah suggests. It is just the other way about. The Indian and Pakistani (Citizenship) Act of 1949, enables a Ceylon Indian to become a Ceylon citizen if he or she applies within two years after the appointed day (later extended) to become a Ceylon citizen, and proves that (1) the applicant has lived in Ceylon 10 years if single, and 7 years if married, prior to 1st January, 1946; (2) the applicant has a reasonable income; (3) if the applicant were a male married person, that his wife and dependent children were living with him; (4) the applicant renounces citizenship of any other country. The procedure for considering these applications is also cumbersome.

Over 235,000 applications have been made according to these conditions and not 100,000 as stated in the article. Of

these less than 3,000 have so far been disposed of. At present the Ceylon Indians are carrying on a *satyagraha* campaign asking for citizenship rights.

Almost the whole of Ceylon's Indian community which numbers over 900,000 are not yet Ceylonese citizens, because the conditions demanded are so rigorous and the rate of considering the applications is so slow. To put it mildly, Mr. Devarajah's article is based on incorrect facts and can be extremely misleading.

Yours etc.,
I. D. S. WEERAWARDANA.

University of Ceylon,
Colombo.

Colour Bar?

SIR,—They say there is no such thing as a colour bar in Britain. I am a Malay and have had considerable difficulty in finding a place to stay in London. Many an estate agent has rooms to let with the proviso "British Gentiles Only" or "No Coloured Tenants or Foreigners." Many landlords also specify that they do not want children or animals, but the animal least wanted, the *bete noire* in the literal sense is the man or woman of colour. It was amazing to find even estate agents who would not qualify to become acceptable tenants of the landlords for whom they acted—a coloured or Jewish agent accepting the work of a landlord who wanted only British Gentile tenants. What do you think of this?

Yours, etc.,
London, N.W.6.

Yours, etc.,
AHMAD BIN IDRIS.

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Edited by NARASIMHA CHAR

Rajendra Prasad, one of Gandhi's closest followers, now a member of the Government of India, says in his foreword to this book that the editor "has collected together short and crisp sentences from Mahatma Gandhi's writings to be read, pondered and assimilated from day to day in the year."

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BOOKS on the

Burma in the Crucible by MAUNG MAUNG PYE
(Rangoon: Khittaya, R.s. 5.8.)

A remarkably objective and vivid account of modern Burmese history, well documented and an important source of information for the study of contemporary South-East Asian affairs. The book contains a wealth of little-known details which not only explain the background of Burmese political thought, but also reveal the maturity with which the leaders of the New Burma manage to overcome their substantial difficulties. It is regrettable that a book of such importance was allowed to appear without an index.

U.T.S.

Reverie of a Qu'hai and Other Stories by J. K. STANFORD
(William Blackwood, 10s. 6d.)

One of the chief reasons why the ICS (later the Burma Civil Service) was not popular with politicians in Burma was that it showed a tendency to form a class apart, with exclusive clubs and "gymkhanas"; a natural tendency, no doubt, but it did not help to bridge the gulf between the official and the people. The *Reverie of a Qu'hai*, which is largely a lament by one of those civilians over the passing of a golden age, may help to prove these points. It gives lively sketches of the civilian at work and play in Burma: the district officer and his wards in the criminal settlement, "a sort of Whipsnade for the worst skunks," the magistrate and the High Court registrar and the machinery of justice working in a rather eccentric way but working well. And the snipe-shooting, the race-meetings, the parties at clubs, or summers in hill resorts, and the occasional visits of the royal commissions and governors which brought some excitement to district life. These are only brief glimpses of Burma and her peoples, but then one should not expect a reverie to do more than flit over the memories of a happy past. The author has treated the subject with affection and his feelings towards the country he has left behind are friendly and kind.

MAUNG MAUNG

British Trade and the Opening of China, 1800-42
by MICHAEL GREENBERG (*Cambridge Studies in Economic History*, 21s.)

Mr. Greenberg approaches his subject from a different standpoint from that of other writers on this, for China, so fateful epoch, basing his narrative on much patient research into the letter books of the old Canton merchants, records of the East India Company and contemporary official papers. The minute account of the financial transactions of the time are hard reading for the non-business mind. But through them emerges a striking picture of the rise of the Country trade—merchants trading only between

FAR EAST

India and China—their struggles against the monopoly of the direct trade to England of the East India, the limitations of the Co-Hong system enforced by the Chinese Government; and their ultimate victory over both. There was this justification for complaint of the Co-Hong that, excepting two or three headed by the famous Howque, its members, heavily squeezed by the Canton officials, were always short of capital and liable to go bankrupt. On the other hand, the merchants were wholly ignorant of the Manchu Emperors' solid reason for dreading foreign intrusion. They did not want foreign goods and were determined to keep their purveyors closely confined: Chien Lung's famous note to Lord Macartney was not only policy but a true statement of Chinese self-sufficiency. But world impulses were too strong both for Chinese exclusiveness and the East India Company's monopoly, although early in the 19th century the Company's export of tea to England actually provided one-tenth of her revenue. The development of Singapore as a distributing centre; the growth of the great Indian houses trading with China; and especially the industrial revolution and Lancashire's imperious demand for markets combined for the victory over the Company of the Agency Houses, the width and variety of whose activities (p. 144) seems almost incredible.

Mr. Greenberg's account of the opium trade moves with speed and vigour. The impression, doubtless unintended, which some readers might get, that foreigners taught the Chinese to smoke opium is, of course, erroneous. The late Sir Cecil Clementi showed, in a paper written in 1908, that Indian opium was always a rich man's luxury constituting an insignificant fraction of the opium grown in China. But it was always a smuggled trade, which caused an enormous drain of silver from China and disturbance of her economy. Mr. Greenberg says nothing of the conditions of life in the Canton factories and the rapacity of the mandarins, all of which played a large part in the ultimate war. But some of the old merchants come vividly to life, notably that powerful personality the first Jardine, truly a man, as Long John Silver would have said, "to crack on all sail in the Day of Judgement."

O. M. GREEN

*Land Reform (UN Department of Economic Affairs.
London: H.M. Stationery Office, 5s.)*

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B.E.H.F.

Agricultural Resources of China by T. H. SHEN
(Cornell University Press. London: Geoffrey Cumber-
lege, 32s. 6d.)

Despite the lack of complete and up-to-date statistics about the agricultural economy of China this is a most valuable work, the first of its kind. China faces many difficulties similar to those of India, but has the advantage of possessing a peasantry that is expert at making the utmost of the overworked and inadequate land resources at its disposal. Dr. Shen, a member of the China-United States Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, was formerly director of the National Agricultural Research Bureau at Nanking. In the 44 chapters of this book he covers the lay of the land, biological factors, water supply problems, land tenure, marketing, farm labour and equipment, land utilisation, the various crops, livestock, fisheries, forests, exports and the question of research and improvements. He points out that a number of plans for improvement have failed owing

to an insufficient understanding of what planning involved. Whether China's present rulers will have the vision and the resolve to go ahead with big development schemes unfettered by any of the corruption that has in the past acted as a drag on progress has yet to be seen.

FARRUKHSIYAR

Introducing the British Pacific Islands (H.M. Station-
ery Office, 2s. 6d.)

A handy little guide to the scattered South Sea islands which come under the British Colonial Office and about which most people in this part of the world know little. It is good to be told that the indigenous races of the islands are increasing in numbers, unlike other primitive races who have often become extinct with the coming of the white man. It is good also to read of the progress made in many directions and to see photos of a progressive type, to know of the successes of the small Fijian team at the British Empire Games in 1950 and of the achievements of the barefooted cricketers and footballers of those islands.

B.E.H.F.

Ceylon by SYDNEY D. BAILEY (Hutchinson's University
Library, 8s. 6d.)

This is a wonderfully compact account of the history of a country that fascinates all who have ever visited it. It begins in the realm where myth merges into history, and in the short compass of 150 pages it takes us through the tales of successive invasions and international contacts which have brought Chinese, Malays, Indians, Persians, Arabs and finally Europeans to Ceylon. Each invasion brought new ideas, new religions and new cultures into contact with those already established and the sum total, as in Britain, has been a remarkable blend of much that is good from every source. The final chapters in the story tell of the relatively peaceful progress towards full nationhood by a dependent state which is today the youngest self-governing member of the Commonwealth.

ARGUS

The Great Ordeal by JOHAN FABRICIUS (Heinemann,
7s. 6d.)

This charming tale is based on an ancient Javanese legend and retold and illustrated by a writer whose childhood was steeped in the lore of that fascinating country. It is about the Javanese peasant Wongse, whose son, Sure, fell in love with a dancing girl. She comes to live with him, but gossip drives her out and sends him mad. Then follows the great ordeal of the father, the journey to the great mountain to seek the message of Allah and purify himself through fasting. This part of the story is told with fine feeling in the concluding pages of the book. One seldom comes upon an effort to interpret the lore of Malaysia told with all the sincerity and feeling of a native and not in the spirit of a professor of Oriental studies.

BERNARD FONSECA

The Republic of India (The development of its Laws and Constitution) by ALAN GLEDHILL; (Stevens & Sons, 45s.)

Apart from its indispensability to the lawyer and student of constitutional history, this well-produced book will be welcomed by the general reader to whom is given a clear exposition of the Indian Constitution and political and historical background. India's recent success in carrying out the greatest general election (on the basis of adult suffrage) yet known to the world greatly enhances the value of so authoritative a work.

Mr. Gledhill adds to his lucid exposition of the Constitution thoughtful comments which in no way impair the smoothness of his narrative but greatly help in understanding the conditions in which the infant Parliament will now work. This written constitution, supreme and comparatively rigid, is, he says, "Only a foundation and a framework; conventions established by political practice, future decisions of the Supreme Court and the conduct of the Indian people will create the superstructure. It will owe much to the personalities of the leading politicians in India during the early years of its working." He foresees that "the role of the President will be determined by the reactions between the early holders of that office and the individuals who hold the offices in the Union Ministry." He points out the importance of the electoral college in this context, assuming that it is vigilant enough to reject a candidate who has dictatorial tendencies. He outlines a "nightmare" programme for a President desiring to establish an authoritarian system of government. Before the Constitution's stability can be assured it will be necessary for the Indian electorate to develop a proper regard for its sanctity.

The Indian Legal System is examined in relation to its development by "reception" of English law and then the reader is made aware of the building up of the administration, local self-government, the ideals of citizenship (fundamental rights), the Indian Penal Codes, the Civil Procedure Code, Personal laws of Hindus and Muslims under British rule, laws of property and of contract and laws relating to industry, communications and professions. Here certainly is a basis on which future editions of this standard work will continue guidance to the progress of Indian lawmaking.

In talking and writing of Indian independence an excessive sense of drama has tended often to lay undue stress on the polemics of Indian nationalism. This, after the transfer of power, has created some astonishment at the picture which soon showed that, to use Pandit Nehru's words, India felt it was "not desirable to break contacts and seek isolation." Three centuries of intercourse had, as Mr. Gledhill points out, "given Englishmen and Indians much in common in modes of thought, economic activity, laws and institutions."

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CHINESE AGRARIAN REFORM AND BOLSHEVIK LAND POLICY by Ya-lun Chou

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Prefacing his book is a chronological table beginning with the East India Company's Royal Charter in 1600 and ending in 1950 with the coming into force of India's republican constitution. It may well be studied by those who forget that throughout the Indo-British partnership has run a silver thread—sometimes faint but in the end unmistakable—of that policy which, as Mr. Attlee declared, found fulfilment on August 15, 1947. Sir Thomas Roe's advice to the Merchant Venturers "If you will profit seek it at sea and in quiet trade," had to be temporarily ignored when the break-up of the Moghul power forced the Company to rule, albeit under the ever-tightening control of Parliament. Mr. Gledhill rightly says that the British were heirs to a despotic rule which they gradually transformed by "institutions bringing the executive and legislative action into relation with the will of the people." The main Indian objection to British rule, he points out, was "not that that it was despotic but that it was British." Perhaps this further quotation succinctly sums up the issue:

"A comparison of the new Constitution with the 1935 Act shows no evidence of revolt against the laws and institutions introduced by the British; the revolt was mainly against tutelage, dictation and what was regarded as undue sympathy for British trading interests. There is much of fulfilment and little of rejection of British policy. Happily there have always been Englishmen who realised and said that English domination of India was a passing phase, and much British policy has been founded on this premise. To have laid down the crown and sceptre but to have left behind British laws and institutions and to have retained India within the Commonwealth will go far towards securing for the British Empire in India a favourable verdict at the bar of History."

The shades of Monroe, Macaulay, Henry Lawrence and many of their successors will concur, just as that of Roe will be applauding the modern venturer in so successfully reviving his "rule," quoted above, three centuries later.

EDWIN HAWARD

The Hard Way to India by JOHN SEYMOUR (*Eyre & Spottiswoode, 16s.*).

A completely fascinating account of the overland journey from London to Karachi, made by train, bus, lorry and on foot in a wholly unconventional manner. John Seymour was quite free from inhibitions of any kind in his efforts to meet and know the people through whose countries he passed.

Visiting Pakistan via Sukkur and Rohri he was greatly impressed by the great enthusiasm and drive in evidence everywhere, especially in the new Indus Barrage area. In Ceylon he found an atmosphere of tolerance, decency, enterprise and progress.

BERNARD FONSECA

The Eternal Truths of Life by ARTHUR ROBSON (*Madras: The Theosophical Publishing House.*)

This compact treatise on Indian theosophy deals chiefly with that aspect of theosophical study which is concerned with the mysteries of nature's laws and the potential psychical powers of man. The expressed purpose of the author is to give information on "matters of an occult nature" according to "the teachings of the Masters" as given in *The Mahatma Letters*.

The professed theosophist will welcome the book as an authoritative exposition of the tenets and teachings of the Adyar school. But it can also be recommended to the educated reader who wishes to glean some knowledge and understanding about the occult. Such words, for example, as "Karma" and "Nirvana" he may have often used. Yet has he a clear understanding of what they mean and what they do *not* mean? Here he will find a clarifying explanation of those and other technical and esoteric nomenclature. The author leads him with a gentle hand over rough places made as smooth as possible by illustrations from so homely a subject for instance as cricket. And if he can recall his Plato he may set his mind to cogitate on a challenging passage like this:—

"... If the things, good or bad, that happen to one are the measure of what one has oneself done in the past, what precisely are they the measure of? After all, no one has yet shown that there is any *absolute* measure of good and bad."

The author writes on a difficult subject with a practised hand that carries the reader along with him. An admirable glossary and index is provided and in footnotes are full notes on the Sanskrit terms used and other points on which elucidation is helpful.

W. A. GARSTIN

Beyond East and West by JOHN C. H. WU (*Sheed and Ward, 21s.*)

Dr. Wu was a traditional scholar of Confucian China; he was attracted by the law and also contributed much to studies of Chinese literature. His essays on the Four Seasons of T'ang Poetry are of the utmost value to Western students. But for Dr. Wu the ethic of Confucius and the glories of his ancient literature were not enough; he felt a great restlessness, a sense of deep malaise for which he could find no remedy. At length the Roman Catholic Church seemed to him to offer the only possible resolution of the conflict within him. How great a reward his faith proved to be can be told effectively only in the author's own words. Dr. Wu's wide reading of Eastern and Western literature, his deep convictions, his passionate faith and apostolic fervour make the reading of this book an experience not readily forgotten.

N.W.

The Art of Letters: LU CHI's "Wen Fu." A.D.302, by E. R. HUGHES (*Routledge and Kegan Paul*, 35s.).

This is a translation and comparative study of the first *fu* of Metrical Essay (sometimes called 'prose poem') in the collected works of Lu Chi, better known by his literary name Lu Shih-heng (or as the author reads it Ssu-heng). It is a delightful production, doubly welcome in these days of austerity publishing; from the reader's point of view it provides a genial mixture of stimulating biography, general comment and scholarly assessment.

Foreign scholars have often been grateful for the *fu*, for in the absence of punctuation, capital letters, even often of paragraphs in old Chinese texts, they found it difficult to avoid mistranslations. With the *fu* things were easier; the basic points of the *fu* are the preservation of due and strict balance between phrase and phrase, the relation of the various parts of the composition to each other according to fixed rules, and the use of a traditionally known type of vocabulary and phrase. Once understood the system enabled the reader to 'chop up' as it were the entire composition into its parts; each of these tackled singly yielded its quota to the significance of the whole.

The *fu* occupies a special place in Chinese literature and many scholars have been attracted by its form, its delicate balance of parallelism, its shades of word-values, and the strict subservience of allusion and inspiration to the general balance of the whole. A valuable essay from the French sinologue Margoules some years ago was the first serious and comprehensive examination of the *fu* to appear in any European language; Mr. Hughes' book will supplement the generalizations of that earlier work by its detailed examination line by line—almost word by word—of an outstanding example of the craft.

NEVILLE WHYMANT

Cultural Freedom by SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR (*S. Viswanathan, Madras*, Rs. 2)

A collection of essays on diverse subjects, cultural, political, religious and economic, revealing different facets of the author's dynamic talent. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is a prolific writer, and his treatment is persuasive as it discloses his insight and high seriousness. He seems to be a Socialist by conviction and it is remarkable that he combines a religious conservatism with the most modern ideas.

S.B.

A Prophet of the People by T. L. VASWANI (*Poona: Gita Publishing House*, Rs. 2/8).

Looking through this appreciation of Guru Nanak's work one is struck more than anything else by the fact that Guru Nanak worked all his life for peace between men of diverse creeds. He is called the "Prophet of Peace and Brotherhood," and he realised that they who take up the sword must perish by the sword. He spent years travelling in Persia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Tibet and Ceylon, as well as through India from end to end. He founded no sect and taught no creed. Yet what a tragedy it is

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that the province from which he hailed should be in our own times the scene of continual bloodshed in which one of the parties is the sect that claims to follow Nanak!

ARGUS

Big Game of Malaya by E. C. FOENANDER (*The Batchworth Press*, 21s.)

No one has ampler opportunities of studying the ways of the jungle fauna of the forests of South and South-East Asia than the officers of the respective Forest Services in India, Burma, and Malaya. Mr. Foenander served for many years in the Malayan Forestry Department, and sportsmen will welcome this book. It is written in an easy and agreeable style and is embellished with a number of excellent photographs.

Mr. Foenander deals with four species of Malayan big game: the gaur (Malay seladang) or bison, the elephant, the tapir, and the Sumatran rhinoceros. He purposely omits the Malayan tiger and leopard because they are seldom encountered. The description, distribution, habits, and methods of hunting are given in detail. Here the author can be relied on to be authoritative and accurate. There are also notes on photographing wild game and legislation and conservation.

All this will appeal to the sportsman more especially. But like a good *shikar* book there are hunting stories which are of wider interest. These are clearly and convincingly told and make first-rate reading.

W.A.G.

LOOK AND LISTEN

BRITAIN'S AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS JOURNAL

ALL educationalists and administrators who desire to keep in touch with modern developments in the use of films, filmstrips, television, broadcasting, wallsheets, epidiascopes, gramophones, tape-recorders, play material, and other aural, visual and tactual aids in education find *LOOK and LISTEN* indispensable. Its contributors write from expert knowledge and practical classroom experience.

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La Danse Hindoue by USHA CHATTERJI (Paris: Les Editions Vega, 900 fr.)

A very useful introduction to the art of Indian dancing for French readers, by an Indian dancer now living in France. Srimati Usha tells of the dance of Nataraja, Lord-of the Dance in the Hindu Pantheon, of the significance of hand and body gestures and then goes on to describe the five main schools of Indian dancing—Bharat Natyam, Kathakali, Mohini Attam, Kathak and Manipuri. There are a number of excellent plates, some showing poses by the author, others by famous exponents of Indian dancing, as well as some very good line illustrations to explain the various "mudras."

ARGUS

The Upanishads, translated by SWAMI NIKHILANANDA (Phoenix House 16s.)

A lucid and graceful translation of the four smaller but popular Upanishads, Katha, Kena, Isa and Mundaka. The writer has struck a golden mean between the oriental and the occidental approaches to the subject. His work reflects a modern mind able to describe fundamental truths, without being technical and abstruse. Samkara's line of thinking has mainly been followed for this purpose. The quality of the work has been enriched by illuminating notes, a general survey of Vedic literature and the place of the Upanishads therein, a discussion of the fundamental tenets of the Upanishads and a glossary of technical terms. One wishes that the diacritical marks could have been more adequate

S.B.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

SOME of the problems of the tea industry in the East are discussed in an article by Sir Percival Griffiths in *Lloyds Bank Review*. He refers to the effect of heavy export duties and the burden of indirect payments to labour in the shape of cheap grain which might leave producers with no choice but to bring down wages. On the managerial side a difficulty in the way of training local men for higher posts is the reluctance of local trainees to "stand in the sun and rain and see the job done." Reluctance of literate Indians to do manual labour is also reflected in the desire of many Indian Jewish emigrants to Israel to escape those hardships of pioneering which are cheerfully accepted by intellectuals from the ranks of European Jewry. *India and Israel* (Bombay) has a report of a reunion of Indian Jews in Tel Aviv, and also quotes a comment from the *Hindu* (Madras) referring to the returning emigrants and to a similar reluctance of educated Indians, displaced by the Indo-Pakistan partition, to put their hands to manual resettlement work.

In Burma it is no longer necessary for politicians to have any inhibitions about acknowledging help from the West. *Socialist Commentary* refers to the country's recent reversal of its first decision to terminate ECA help, to her increasing participation in the Colombo Plan and her cooperation with the World Health Organisation in fighting malaria. A new publication which merits the attention of all interested in the study of the Orient is the University of Manila *Journal of East Asiatic Studies*. Among the principal contents of the first issue are papers on Social Organisation of Central Formosan Tribes, and on Prehistoric Sites at the Karama River (Celebes) by Van Stein Callenfels.

People's China (Peking), tells in a recent issue of the "Women's Movement in New China." One of the six vice-chairmen of the Central People's Government is a woman, while 36 women hold leading positions in that government. However, it is recognised that "much remains to be done in uprooting the age-old ideology which fosters discrimination. Even the women themselves through centuries of obedience and resignation, sometimes lack the self-confidence and courage needed to continue their struggle."

Samaggi Sara, the very readable mimeographed Siamese student journal, published in London, is now in its 23rd year and a reminder of the great influence life in Britain has on many who will be leaders of their country at some future date. The journal refers to the lack of pride of Siamese youth in their traditions. "Is this because we feel that this western form is one in which we can best express ourselves, or because we feel we should keep up with the foremost nations of the world? I rather think the latter. . . . If we belittle our own culture, then it is quite reasonable to suppose that few other people will find sympathy with it also."

BERNARD FONSECA

In order to help the rural population, Burma has asked for United Nations technical assistance in modernising and developing her small industries. The U.N. is providing 10 experts and technicians in answer to this request. This picture shows a woman potter at work in Twante village, 17 miles south-west of Rangoon, a community of 3,000 families most of whom are engaged in pottery trade. U.N. experts recommended the establishment of a model pottery laboratory there, with a bench test kiln which would help potters to determine the physical properties of material before firing large quantities of ware. (United Nations Picture)



Daw Tee Tee's Experiment

By William C. Collins

MORE than twenty years ago, a strange trio began to haunt the underworld of Rangoon. The activities of this trio aroused a certain amount of comment for, one by one, the orphans and abandoned children who haunted the fringes of Rangoon's underworld began to disappear. The leader of this self-appointed vice squad was a boyish figure in a slouch cap. But the pickpockets, dope dealers and cut-throats of Rangoon never did find out that this mysterious visitor was a woman, much less that her husband was Professor of English at the University of Rangoon.

Mrs. G. H. Luce—better known by her own Burman name of Daw Tee Tee—had spent a year in England studying child-welfare systems. In 1928 she informed the police of her desire to rescue and rehabilitate young delinquents. They warned her flatly to keep out of the city's underworld section, but undaunted, Mrs. Luce organized a two-man bodyguard, donned her disguise, and went to work.

With the first group of nineteen juvenile delinquents that she whisked off the streets of Rangoon in 1928, Daw Tee Tee founded her home, which is unique in Burma. Soon the police began sending her wayward boys who were considered too young for gaol and youthful offenders awaiting trial.

At first, Daw Tee Tee housed her orphans and offenders in a small hut off Rangoon's University Avenue. The home soon gained public recognition, and in 1929 a wealthy benefactor donated land. The Rangoon Turf Club contributed the main building, and various public and private donors gave a dozen other structures.

In the decade before the war broke out, Daw Tee Tee's home gave shelter, education and vocational training to hundreds. The weaving, spinning and book-binding classes produced a modest income to add to the small government subsidy and certain irregular private donations which kept the school running.

In December, 1941, Rangoon experienced its first air bombardment. The raid frightened away all the messenger boys at Army Headquarters. The Military Command appealed to Mrs. Luce for help, and forty-eight older boys volunteered. One month later, Mrs. Luce was ordered home to England. The school was evacuated to Upper Burma, and when this region fell to the enemy, many of the boys trekked with the Burmese Army to India.

Soon after liberation and peace, the Government invited Mrs. Luce to return and re-open her home for boys. For months after this news was published in Rangoon's newspapers, a young man named Po Khwe

and a group of friends used to come down to the docks every time a ship was due to see if Daw Tee Tee had arrived. Po Khwe was one of the first nineteen small ragamuffins that Daw Tee Tee had rescued from the Rangoon underworld. To-day, he is the chief Warden of the Boys' Home. All the other staff members—the cook, the driver and a half-dozen more—also are ex-inmates.

When Daw Tee Tee stepped off the boat early in 1946, she found the premises of her school looted and wrecked. For several years she struggled to repair the buildings, meanwhile re-opening the home under make-shift conditions. The Government resumed its monthly pre-war subsidy of twenty rupees (about four dollars) for each juvenile offender convicted or awaiting trial. However, Daw Tee Tee does not conceive of her home

as merely a reformatory. Nearly half of her one hundred or more boys are homeless orphans with no criminal record whatsoever—for them no Government subsidy is received. Furthermore, a pre-war rate of twenty rupees a month hardly goes half way in supporting a single boy today at post-war prices. And above all, there are no resources to buy new equipment for classroom teaching and vocational training.

Unesco has listed Daw Tee Tee's home for boys as one of its Gift projects, permitting interested citizens in the United States, the United Kingdom, or France to buy Unesco gift coupons in their own currencies. These coupons can then be used to pay for book-binding tools, weaving equipment and materials and physical education equipment for Daw Tee Tee's school.

The Development of the Indonesian Language

By A. Brotherton

IT is only since the achievement of Indonesian independence in 1945, that the Indonesian language has assumed the status of an internationally recognised State language, although it has been in use as a *lingua franca* for centuries in the islands that stretch from the Celebes to Malaya. This widespread currency was due, not to any exaggerated simplicity of the language, as is so often, incorrectly asserted, but to the fact that present-day Indonesian and Malay originated at the junction of trade routes from the east and the west. From the cities that arose along the shores of the Malacca Strait the language spread westwards throughout the coastal regions in Indonesia.

Until 1945 the Indonesian language was invariably referred to by European grammarians as Malay, but the distinctions which have arisen between the language spoken in the Indonesian Republic and that spoken by Malays in the Malay Peninsula are sufficient to justify a differentiation on linguistic grounds alone without the political considerations related to the creation of the Indonesian Republic. In Malaya, the Malay language has been degenerated with a surfeit of unbecoming anglicisms and the laboured adoption of Arabic words, and, largely because of the exclusive use of English as the official administrative and economic medium, Malay is, in general, written and spoken with regrettably scant regard to grammatical propriety.

By contrast, in the territory of the Indonesian Republic, contact with other languages, with Hindi, Arabic, Chinese, Dutch and English, has never effected any modification in the structural pattern of Indonesian, nor contributed greatly to the vocabulary. The incorporation of Javanese words into Indonesian is, however, extensive and is a factor distinguishing Indonesian from Malay. With the adoption of the Muslim religion in Indonesia about the twelfth century, Arabic terms were introduced but only in the sphere of Islamic theology. Similarly, the existence of Sanskrit word derivations is, for the most part, traceable as in Siamese

(with about the same proportion) to the influence of the Hindu and Buddhist religions and accompanying cultural contacts.

Systematic research into the Indonesian languages—which include, besides the numerous languages spoken in the Indonesian archipelago, the Tagalog language of the Philippines and the Hova language of Madagascar—has so far been little more than superficial. Considerable effort has been devoted to the tracing of Sanskrit derivations, but this restricted line of investigation apparently has not brought forward any conclusions as to a possible affinity of Indonesian and Indo-European language groupings. An interesting point which seems to have been overlooked in this connection is the obvious identity of the Russian *to* and Indonesian *itu* (that) and the Russian *k* and the Indonesian *ke* (towards).

Sanskritic elements and elements analogous to Sanskritic forms and words found in Indonesian would certainly date in many cases from the period of Aryan migrations and concentration on this aspect of the language has led to neglect of other and earlier periods of Indonesian linguistic development. A more objective approach, uninhibited by the absurd fetishism of "Indo-Europeanism" will no doubt reveal what contributions were made to Indonesian languages by the successive waves of migration that have passed over the archipelago.

At the same time the very uncertain hypothesis of a relationship between the Indonesian language group and the language of the Ainu of Japan still remains to be authenticated or disproved, whilst the striking similarity of certain Indonesian and Japanese words is also yet to be explained.

Affinities certainly exist between the various Polynesian, Melanesian and Micronesian groups and the Indonesian languages—the numerals one (*se*) and five (*limo*), for example, are common to Hawaiian and Indonesian and Maori; the pronoun "I" (*aku*) is the same in Javanese *ngoko*, Hawaiian and in prepositional constructions in Indonesian—but no methodical analysis

of these and other features has been made. In this connection also a comparison with the languages of the Pacific coast of South America should prove interesting since there is evidence of contact between these regions and Indonesia.

As yet, neither the exact origin nor the precise age of the Indonesian language has been fully established, but the solution of these problems only awaits continued research and would undoubtedly make an important contribution to linguistic science generally. Above all, a wider knowledge of Indonesian, not only on the part of specialists, would dispel the naive premise accepted by such a noted linguist as Jespersen, and reasserted by others that it is a language lacking in grammatical rules and devoid of syntax. This bewildering assumption would seem to be arrived at by noting the absence of verb conjugations and noun declensions and ignoring the rigid and rather involved system of using prefixes and suffixes with root words for variations and distinctions of meaning.

This feature is illustrated by the number of forms evolved from the root word *dapat* (get, can): *mendapat* (get), *mendapati* (find), *mendapatkan* (acquire), *memper-dapat* (cause to be acquired), *kedapatan* (being got), *pendapatan* (action of getting), *berpendapat* (having an opinion), *sedapat-dapatnya* (as much or far as possible), *terdapat* (state of being got, found).

The illusion that Indonesian is a grammarless phenomenon has been perpetuated especially by English text-books, whilst those written in Dutch have implanted the habit of designating Indonesian grammatical forms in terms of definitions applicable only to Indo-European languages. This leads naturally to confusion and inaccuracy. In all available text-books there is, moreover, a general uncertainty on the correct use and the semantic value of the prefixes and suffixes which form the basis of Indonesian grammar.

But when it is realised that for the three centuries of Dutch rule the Indonesian language was relegated to a secondary position, these misconceptions are understandable. Since Dutch was, for all official purposes, including higher education, the sole language, the use of Indonesian and other indigenous languages of what was the Netherlands Indies was in practice discouraged. This circumstance naturally precluded the employment of Indonesian as a vehicle of cultural expression and this handicap was made the greater by the widespread illiteracy of the population. Conversely, as has been the case with all colonial countries, educated Indonesians invariably spoke European languages with greater fluency than their own native tongue.

In contrast with the incalculable harm of the negative aspects of Dutch rule, particularly in the field of culture, the introduction of romanization was a contribution of the greatest value to the future of Indonesia, permitting—under present conditions—the quicker liquidation of illiteracy. As it happens Indonesian is one of the few non-European languages of which the phonetic values may be almost faultlessly reproduced without the melancholy confusion of multiple accents and diacritical signs.

A comparison may be made with the unnecessary and unsatisfactory romanization of the easily-learned



Dr. Soekarno, President of the Republic of Indonesia, devotes part of his spare time to teaching adults, in order to encourage by personal example the nation-wide campaign against illiteracy (United Nations Picture)

Javanese alphabet, or with the use of Latin letters for the polytonic Vietnamese language, an innovation made by Jesuit missionaries for their own convenience, which, in serving the language from the basis of the Chinese characters in which it was formerly written, has alienated an entire nation from its heritage of literary tradition. Similar considerations have made the romanization of Japanese impracticable.

The Djawi script, previously used in Indonesia and still used in Malaya is a maladroitness adaptation, artificially imposed, of the Arabic alphabet for a language totally alien in pronunciation. Still preserved in some measure for religious purposes, the Djawi script, in face of the simplicity and the official use of the Latin alphabet, has fallen completely out of favour in Indonesia, as it has no practical application.

Facilitated by the spread of the Latin alphabet the heightened political impulse of the nationalist movement at the beginning of this century gave force to the popular demand for the recognition and official use of the Indonesian language. From the 1920s onward Indonesian language newspapers began to appear in increasing numbers and finally the Dutch authorities conceded the use of Indonesian in the so-called Volksraad or People's Council.

It is in the newspapers and the political pamphlets of this period, much more so than today, that the effect of the long period of cultural stagnation imposed on the language is clearly seen. Dutch words—more or less incorporated into the Indonesian vocabulary—such as “administratie” (*pengurusan*), “volksraad” (*dewan perwakilan*), “onderneming” (*perusahaan*), to cite some of the more common instances, are frequently used. The style of composition is often modelled on a literal transposition of the Dutch or English idiom, as in *mengambil bagian* for “participate” although the meaning is “to take away a part” or *petjah perang* for “outbreak of war” although this phrase has in fact no meaning in Indonesian.

These irregularities which have now almost completely disappeared, were also due in part to the fact that, despite the maturity of the language, there exists no Indonesian literature as such. Most of the documents preserved from the past are relatively recent and are usually trans-

lations of Persian and Arabic epics. The much-vaunted *Hikajat Abdullah* written during the era of Raffles by an enterprising Malay of Arab parentage is far indeed from being an example of literary composition. The deficiency of a literary tradition is, however, being rapidly compensated for by the considerable output of Indonesian fiction, poetry and technical works, and in the prolific translating of modern European writers including Sartre, Gide and Hemingway.

Here, as in the composition of official documents, the difficulty of vocabulary is still in the process of being overcome, for a language shaped in the mould of Eastern feudalism and trodden for centuries beneath the heel of foreign domination could hardly provide the terminology of international affairs or express the equivalent of the modern American idiom. By reviving words from Javanese such as *mengaram-aramai* (to appease), or *pelantjong* (tourist), and to a lesser degree from Hindi, Arabic, *zarrah* (atom), and Sanskrit *nirlhana* (pre-history), this purely temporary difficulty is being overcome and a distinctive uniformity of expression is being achieved.

The emergence of the Republic of Indonesia has brought a renaissance to the speech of 75 million people and the important position now occupied by Indonesia as a political and economic factor in world affairs may well serve as a reason for stimulating a long-neglected European interest in the Indonesian language.



The ruins of Nalanda, showing the floors of the monasteries with the courtyards, small cells and staircases

IN the heart of Bihar in Eastern India lies the vast ruin of Nalanda, the famous international University which moulded the thoughts and arts of the whole East. From a very humble origin, Nalanda developed into a university, housing 10,000 residents at a time, and played a prominent role in Indian history from about the second century to the eighth century A.D.

NALANDA

The International University of Ancient India

By Prabhati Devi

Nalanda has now kept the archaeologists and indologists busy for decades. So far, eight levels of occupation with twelve monasteries, one big temple, and several *stupas* or *chaityas* (engraved votive mounds) have been excavated. On the ruins of the structures destroyed, new buildings were erected from time to time by different kings who kept it going until the Mohammedan conquest.

In 476 A.D., King Narasimhagupta built a temple which was 300 feet high, and embellished with gold and gems. Purnavarmana, another king, raised a copper image of the Buddha, 80 feet high, and a beautiful monastery made of brass.

When I-Tsing, a famous Chinese traveller, visited Nalanda in 673 A.D., there were eight halls and 300 apartments with more than 3,000 residents. There were some cells without any windows, apparently for meditation. Residential cells had stone beds raised on one side in the form of pillows.

When Yuan Chwang, another Chinese traveller, visited the university, there were more than 10,000 priests in residence. He described the wooden pavilions of Nalanda with their "pillars ornamented with dragons, beams resplendent with all the colours of the Rainbow—rafters richly carved—columns ornamented with jade pointed red and richly chiselled." Further, he went on, "richly adorned towers and turrets like pointed hilltops congregated together. The priests' chambers in the outside courts had dragon projections and coloured eaves, pearl red pillars, carved and richly ornamented, richly adorned balustrades and roofs covered with tiles."

According to Jaina tradition, Mahavira spent fourteen rainy seasons at Nalanda. Pali literature tells us that the Buddha often visited it to teach his followers and rested there in a mango grove. Sariputta, the famous disciple of the Lord Buddha, lived in a hut in the area. Gradually it attracted other disciples with the result that it soon became a spiritual centre.

Asoka, after the death of Sariputta, built a temple as a memorial to him. Sakraditya, a king of that region, built a monastery at Nalanda. Later on, many kings did the same. Gradually between the period of 425 and 625 A.D. Nalanda developed into an important township controlled by a great university under State patronage. The university received royal recognition in 450 A.D. It enjoyed a wide popularity between the sixth to about the ninth century A.D. and functioned as an international centre of learning during the reign of the Emperor Harshavardhana, in the seventh century.

As a university, its traditions were of the highest: it boasted great teachers like Dharmapala and Chandrapala, whose brilliant exposition of the Buddha's teachings made a lasting impression upon the students; Gunamati and Sthiramati, who enjoyed high reputations among their contemporaries; Prabhramitra famed for his clear arguments and Jinamitra for his model character, and Silabhadra for his sound scholarship. All of them were learned men, authors of treatises widely known and valued among their contemporaries.

The missionaries sent from Nalanda commanded respect and veneration wherever they went. Padma-sambhava went to Tibet and converted it to Buddhism. Aryadeva of Ceylon sought advice from Nagarjuna, the Rector and Governor of Nalanda, on religious matters.

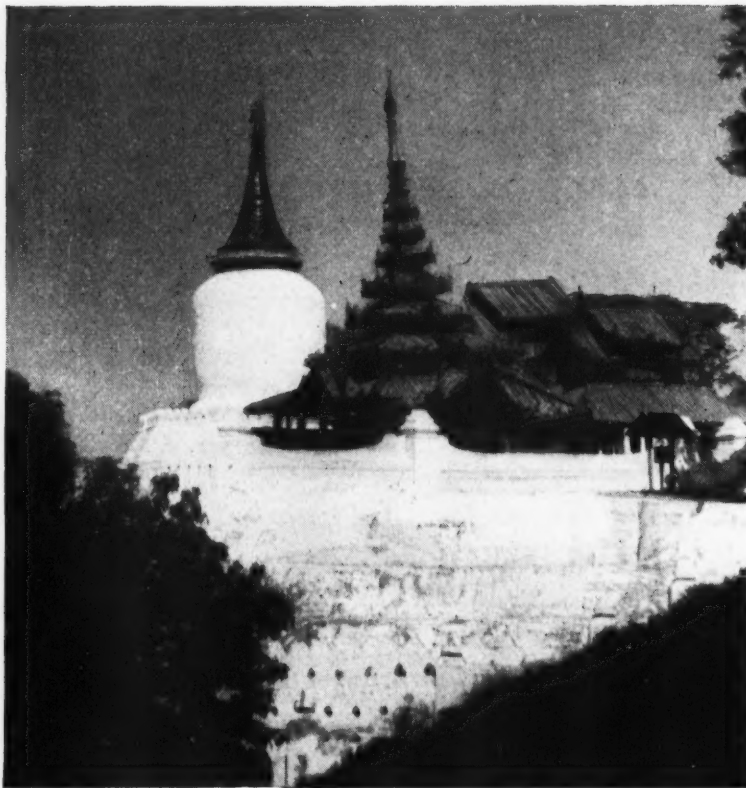


A typical sculpture of the Nalanda School found during the excavations

Recent discoveries of Sanskrit manuscripts in China, made by Mahapandit Rahula Sankrityayana, have strengthened the belief that Nalanda influenced the thoughts of China and other parts of East Asia.

Although it was a Buddhist university, Nalanda maintained a liberal tradition. The Vedas of the Hindus and the Tripitakas of the Buddhists were taught with equal zeal and sincerity, and it patronised both Buddhist and Brahmanical Art. Consequently, Hindu, Jaina and Buddhist arts and ideals are to be found in the ruins. The influence of the Nalanda School of Architecture can be seen in some temples of South India, Java, Borobudur and Tibet.

From the fortress-like structures of Nalanda University it seems that apart from being an educational institution, possibly it was also destined to serve as a refuge for the priests who dreaded persecution from the rulers of opposing faiths. It could not, however, withstand the onslaught of the Mohammedan conquest of India, and was finally destroyed by Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji, who invaded India about 1200 A.D.



BURMESE PAGODAS

By R. S. Fisher

Left: Bupaya Pagoda at Pagan. Erected by King Pyusawdi (168-243 A.D.), it is a famous landmark to navigators on the Irrawaddy River. Below: Pagoda in Prome



SINCE Burma's population is predominantly Buddhist, it is hardly surprising that pagodas form the dominant feature in the landscape. Although there are numerous monasteries and temples in Burma, the pagodas are most important from the architectural point of view. In most cases, the exact age cannot be determined, but it is probable that the first pagodas were built in Burma during the reign of King Asoka, since he was responsible for sending Buddhist missionaries into the country.

The Burmese pagoda is a solid building, usually of brick and covered with stucco; often gilded. There are four types—those containing relics of a Buddha, those containing implements or garments which have belonged to the Buddhas or other sacred personages, those containing books or texts, and lastly, those built from motives of piety and containing statues of the Buddha or models of sacred buildings.

The most famous pagoda is the Shwe Dagon which began as a simple relic shrine and was gradually enlarged. The original shrine was built in 585 B.C., but the date of subsequent casings is not recorded. This method of encasing the original structure makes it difficult to decide on the date of construction as the earliest remains are generally concealed by many outer shells of varying styles.

The modern Burmese pagoda is a counterpart of the ancient Indian Buddhist *stupa*. The earlier forms are simpler and more massive in outline, gradually growing more elaborate and slender, losing in grandeur perhaps but becoming more elegant. Important pagodas, such as the Shwe Dagon, are divided into twelve parts—starting from the base, with its surrounding pagodas. On this, rising successively, are three terraces, or *pichaya*, the bell, the inverted *thabeik*, or alms bowl, the *baung-yit*, or twisted turban, the *kyalan*, or ornamented lotus flower, the plantain bud, the brass plate for the *hti* or umbrella (the *hti* is usually made of pierced and gilded ironwork, decorated with small bells, which tinkle in the breeze), the vane, and lastly the *seinbu* or bud of diamonds.

Smaller pagodas, resthouses and altars often surround the larger pagodas, together with bells of all sizes, and drinking water stands placed there by those seeking to



The Shwe Dagon Pagoda, Rangoon

acquire merit. The main staircases are generally guarded by two grotesque figures, and the parapets flanking the steps are sometimes formed into the shape of nagas with long scaly bodies.

THE LAMA'S YAK: A Tibetan Folk-Tale

By Paul Roche

THERE lived a lama of Tibet, holy of deed and instant in prayer, who possessed as beast of burden a good but simple-minded yak. One evening after returning from the valley, he felt the soft chin of the yak upon his shoulder, and there was the animal begging for company.

"Sir," it said, as the lama pulled affectionately at its little beard, "I have been your beast of burden for three years, and I have always been very happy but you have never taught me the truths of religion. At three and a half I am an irreligious beast and do not know a thing about the Almighty."

"Well," said the lama, "and do you suppose that knowing the truths of religion will make any difference to you?"

"Surely, sir?"

"All right, I am willing to teach you, but remember—one can make you truly religious except yourself."

The next morning, when the yak had finished carrying pine logs to the cave, he trotted to his master's side, his face twitching with eagerness to begin the lessons.

"We shall start with the Supreme One," said the lama, "and I shall teach you how to catch a glimpse of where He dwells. Even in things sad and difficult you will learn to see His passing shadow."

"We may even see the Almighty Himself," said the yak with bulging eyes.

"No, my friend. Not here. How could we gaze upon perfect beauty when the very refuse of His glory, which is this world, dazzles many to intoxication? It is safer for us to believe and love."

And so the lessons began. Every morning when he had done his chores the yak would hurry into the cave and stand before

the lama, his eyes dancing with anticipation. Hour after hour would pass as he listened to his master's gentle voice. There were few interruptions and then only when his yak heart was bursting, and aspirations and ambitions had to be bleated out.

The lessons progressed as the weeks went by. Winter gave place to spring. The snow melted, the alders broke into catkin, and along the flowing torrents the rushes were flecked with pink and white.

Of all animals the yak was the most contented. There was a self-assurance about his trot and an expression upon his long face that amounted almost to smugness. He began to make interruptions during the lessons, grunting such remarks as:

"You said that before," or "That is self-evident."

There were also signs that the yak's behaviour towards the other animals was changing. He began to call the aged goat (whose milk once saved his calf life) an "old nit-wit"; and he referred to the hens, after the lama's dissertations upon the sacredness of matrimony, as "a bunch of trollops." He declared also that it was against his conscience to carry fodder for the rabbits, who were living in sin.

These signs and others were evident to the lama, making him admit that the more the yak listened to holy things the more disagreeable he became. At first wilfulness, then rudeness, and finally rank disobedience became the order of the day.

One hot morning in May, when the lama, seated on the yak, was hurrying down the mountain-side to attend a woman in child-birth, the animal suddenly halted and made for a clump of bamboo brake.

"Your Reverence must dismount," it announced, "the hour has come for the noonday prayer! Let us meditate today on the shortness of life and the corruptibility of all created things."

"My dear animal," retorted the lama, "we cannot stop now—or a life will be made even shorter. Pray as you go along."

"What! Pray as I pick my way down this stony path! It is all very well for you sitting up there like the Dalai Lama himself. What about me, slipping and stumbling at every step? Get off I say!"

The lama was the mildest of men, but he had not been so near to losing his temper since the days of his youth.

"Yak," he fumed, "proceed; we are late already."

"You leave me no choice!" replied the yak.

He went down on both knees and pitched his master into the bamboos.

Let us not waste time here describing the temporary confusion. The lama, unhurt except in feelings, gathered himself out of the bushes and hurried on to the village. He arrived just in time to save the poor woman's life and deliver her of a fine child.

The yak, for his part, made himself comfortable on the spot, and spent a delightful hour praying, filled with feelings of excellence and devotion.

When next morning the yak came trotting up for his lessons, he noticed a curious gleam in his master's eyes.

"My son," said the lama, "when we began these lessons it was winter. Now it is spring. The kidney-beans in the valley are showing green tops and the walnut trees have put out their leaves. It is time for us to take stock of ourselves."

"Of course, sir," interrupted the yak. "'Know thyself,' sayeth the Book."

The lama ignored this profound observation.

"I have long been watching your progress in religion," he said, "and at last I can tell you that your lessons are finished, you are now wholly religious."

"Indeed!" snorted the yak, puffing out his woolly hide with pride. "And am I sufficiently advanced to enter a monastery stable, for my soul pants after the religious life?"

"You are quite sufficiently advanced, my friend," said the lama smiling secretly, "Not all the monks of Tibet could outdo you in zeal for the things of God. There remains but one little thing."

"Sir?"

"A trifle, a mere trifle. It is this—er—but will you understand?" "Master, my ears are open wide and my brain is clearer than a running stream."

"Good! Listen closely, I am going to tell you a story."

The yak settled himself comfortably on the floor and cocked his shaggy head.

"Once upon a time there was a young farmer betrothed to a beautiful maiden, and a few days before his wedding he went to the village to buy jewellery. Finding nothing there to match her beauty he went to the town. But there was nothing there either, and he journeyed on to the Great City. Alas, in the Great City he found that the Emperor had just purchased all the finest jewellery for his daughter. So, crestfallen and empty-handed, the young farmer after a week away set off for home. When he was but a stone's throw from his house, he met his uncle, a very old man.

"My boy," said he, "why are you so forlorn?"

The young farmer told him his tale of frustration.

"Come," said the old man, and he led him into his house. Then he took a casket from under the bed and unlocked it.

When the lid was opened the young farmer gasped, for the casket bulged with jewellery and precious stones. The old man poured them in a pulsating heap upon the cow-dung floor: rings of gold and silver, bangles and ear-rings studded with pearls, necklaces of amber and jet.

"My son," said the old man, "these were the adornments of my mother in her youth. They should have been for my bride, but I am old now and I never married. Choose from among them what you will. I regret only that you should have come so far to find what was near at hand!"

"And that is the end of my story," said the lama, and he walked over to a table and poured himself a cup of goat's milk.

"A most irrelevant story!" grunted the yak shaking himself. "What is the moral?"

"The moral! Why, you calf-minded creature, *you* are the moral! *You* are the one I am talking of!"

"I do not see," said the yak.

"No, I told you it was too subtle for you. I shall explain. There was a time when you did your duty, were respectful and regarded yourself as the servant and friend of others. Without knowing it you were at the heart of true religion for you looked upon the whole world as a wonderful expression of God's will.

Then came a change. You took to the study of religion. You went in for long meditation, you were filled with exalted ideas, you became what you now are—a paragon of religiosity. Yes, the most religious animal in these parts!"

The lama paused—"And also the most unspiritual."

The poor beast fell to his knees with stupefaction.

"What, sir? What did you say?"

"I said," repeated the lama, "that you are the most unspiritual animal in these parts. Oh, yes you think that life as my beast of burden in not good enough for you. You fool! Did you not guess that religion without spirituality is nothing?"

"But—but," stammered the beast, with tears starting to his eyes, "is not every spiritual person religious?"

"Yes indeed, yak, but not every religious person is spiritual."

The yak pondered this, and when he spoke again there was a hint of modesty in his voice.

"What then, sir, is it to be spiritual?"

"Ah, it is to cherish the right values."

"What values, my master?"

"The everlasting values of Beauty, Goodness and Truth,"

"And where do I find them?"

"You find them everywhere, but first of all in your neighbour, and most of all in God—I told you the story of the young farmer because you, like him, have travelled far to look for what was near at hand. Come back now and look a little closer."

"I will, my master," said the yak, with the old gentleness dawning in his eyes.

"Do, my son, for already you have a treasure in your heart."

ECONOMIC SECTION

Burma's Economy

By V. Wolpert

*Working elephants used
in Burma's timber industry*



IN 1951 Burma's foreign trade produced a higher surplus than in 1950, but the cost-of-living index continued to decline throughout the year. The 1950 index was about 16 per cent lower than that of 1949 and that of 1951 shows another decline of about 3 per cent. A certain improvement in surface transport and the liberation of the import policy were among the main reasons for the fall in prices of consumer goods.

The trend of Burma's national economy in 1951 was described in the Annual Report, 1951, of the Union Bank of Burma which stated that:

"While many countries in the world sought during 1951 to counteract inflationary forces, the dominant trends in the Burmese economy were deflationary. Heavy accumulations of stocks appeared in some lines and many importers suffered appreciable losses. Unemployment in urban areas reduced purchasing power which in turn impaired business activity. While these facts contributed to avoidance of price inflation, the situation was essentially one of resources, both human and material, remaining in a state of enforced idleness and unproductivity . . ."

BURMA'S UNBALANCED ECONOMY

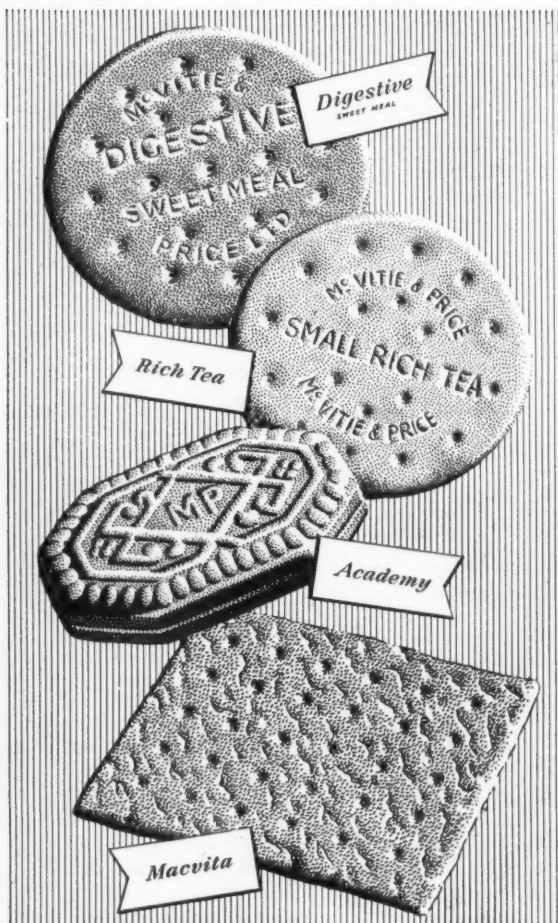
Burma's national economy still suffers as a result of the insurgencies within the country. The severe restrictions in the activities of the timber and mining industries (due to insurgent interference) throughout 1951 aggravated the character of the country's unbalanced economy, which, even more than in the past had to rely mainly on the production and the export of one crop, namely rice. Although the country possesses a great variety of natural resources, their exploitation however, would require large foreign capital investments. For instance, it was recently estimated that for the development of the mineral resources alone £200 million would

be needed. The Burmese Government is well aware of the importance of diversifying the country's production and of building up various industries, and this was repeatedly stressed by ECAFE. Burma's decision to join the Colombo Plan may be regarded as a step in this direction. The dependence of Burma's economy on exports of rice can be seen from the fact that the value of rice exports represented about 80 per cent of the value of the country's total exports in the post-War years. Even if Burma is fortunate in that the world demand for rice and secured prices are comparatively high, no country can in the long run depend upon one commodity only. The recent agreement with the Burma Oil Company to produce and refine oil in Burma (with financial assistance promised by the British Government), the joint venture by the Burmese Government and the Burma Corporation in the field of mining, the building of a modern saw mill by the State Timber Board to be ready for operation in 1953, and the opening of the Government Cotton Spinning and Weaving Factory near Rangoon in May, 1951, are among the measures taken by the Burmese Government to diversify the national economy.

RICE PRODUCTION AND EXPORTS

During the years preceeding the War, Burma was the largest rice-exporting country. While before 1937-38 Burma produced under 5 million tons per annum, the production rose considerably during the next four years, and the annual exports amounted to about 3 million tons, of which about 50 per cent went to the Indian sub-continent. During the Japanese occupation, when the country was cut off from her main markets, the sown acreage was reduced and the neglected land reverted to

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jungle. The civil disturbances hampered the work of rehabilitation after the end of the war, and in 1948-49 some 3 million acres in Burma, about 25 per cent of the pre-war sown area, were still to be reclaimed. The work of rehabilitation during the period which followed immediately after the end of the War can be appraised by the fact that the production in 1947-8 was nearly 2 million tons higher than two years previously, although more than 1 million tons less than that of the pre-war average. During the year 1950-1 rice exports reached a post-war record of over 1.3 million tons, which is, however, less than 40 per cent of the pre-war annual exports. And it must be added that the last year's exports included carry-over stocks from the previous year. Whether this year's exports will reach the 1.3 million tons mark appears improbable owing to the absence of a carry-over. It is to be hoped that the Burmese Government will take vigorous measures to rehabilitate the agriculture of the country, to increase the comparatively low yields per acre, thus enabling her to increase her exports. While the insurrections within the country represent, of course, a serious handicap to economic development it should not be forgotten that the improvement of the economic situation in the areas under Government control, coupled with the raising of the living standard of the population in these areas, will constitute an efficient way of fighting insurrections.



5,000 bales of cotton yarn, procured by E.C.A. from Japan, are being sold by the Burmese Government to cottage industry weavers in all parts of Burma. A typical conference between officials of the Civil Supplies Department in Rangoon, and representatives of an Upper Burma Weaving Co-operative

FOREIGN TRADE

According to the Union of Burma Bank Report the country's export surplus amounted to 31.65 crores of rupees during the fiscal year ended September 1951 (1 crore = 10 million), as against an average surplus of 26.72 crores during the last four pre-war years, and a surplus of 22.54 crores during the year ended September 1950.

By the end of 1951 the country's foreign exchange reserves stood at over 75 crores of rupees, and prominent economists urged the Government not to let these reserves lie idle but to use them for financing the much needed development programme.

The direction of Burmese exports became more diversified during the post-war period than was the case in the pre-war years, when India and the United Kingdom bought nearly 70 per cent of Burma's total exports. It is noteworthy that already in 1949 the share of the total Burmese exports to India, Pakistan and the United Kingdom decreased to less than 50 per cent, and this process continued during the following two years. Ceylon, Malaya, Indonesia and Japan increased their importance as buyers from Burma. On the other hand, the imports from India, the United Kingdom and Japan amounted to about 75 per cent of Burma's total imports during the 1950-51 year.

India remains the most important trading partner of Burma, and in May 1951 a Trade Agreement was concluded by the two countries for a period of five years (1951-55), which provides for Burmese rice exports to India, and Indian exports of gunny bags, groundnut oil, cotton yarn and iron and steel products to Burma.

United Kingdom trade with Burma during 1951 registered an increase as against the trade in 1950, and according to the latest available figures this trend continued during the first few months of 1952, as shown in the following table:

	1950	1951	1951	1952
	(Whole Year Figures)		(Jan. and Feb. Only)	
U.K. exports to Burma ...	8,963,711	11,870,888	1,468,649	2,671,562
U.K. imports from Burma ...	2,559,755	5,586,197	704,047	1,015,769
	(All figures in £s)			

The main U.K. imports from Burma were rice, bran and cargo, broken rice and timber and wood, while the main U.K. exports to Burma were vehicles, textiles, chemicals, machinery, electrical goods and iron and steel products.

Since the end of the War, Japan's exports to Burma have been increasing. They amounted to 12.1 million U.S. dollars (about 35 per cent of the value of the U.K. exports) in 1950, and reached 23.7 million U.S. dollars (about 70 per cent of the value of the U.K. exports) in 1951, whilst in the pre-war year 1938 Burmese imports from Japan were valued at 14 million rupees or about 35 per cent of the value of imports from the U.K. which amounted to 40 million rupees.

TIMBER INDUSTRY

Forestry is one of the main sources of Burma's natural wealth. About 57 per cent of the country is covered with forests, and some 100,000 people are engaged in this industry. Timber and wood contribute an important share to the country's overall exports. Burmese teak, for instance, is world famous, and is used in many industries including shipbuilding.



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potential customers for the manufactured goods of the western world live between Cyprus and Japan. The vast material resources of the East are in turn vital to the productive industries of Europe and the West.

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During 1951 the timber output in Burma made good progress compared with the previous two years. But in a recent speech W. R. B. Sample, Chairman of the Burma Chamber of Commerce, Rangoon, warned that the marked improvement in the trading figures of 1951 should not be taken as an indication that this industry is basically in any healthier state than one year ago. He added that the outlook for the immediate future is far from being encouraging, as most of the logs available as a result of work undertaken before 1949 have already reached the mills due to the opening of the main channels of communication by the end of 1950. The mills will have to rely on current deliveries, and unfortunately work on a reasonable scale is at present only possible in three out of twenty-one forest extraction areas. Mr. Sample estimated that during 1951 Rangoon received about 65,000 tons of teak logs, while the arrivals at Moulmein totalled about 15,000 tons. The shipments of teak from Rangoon reached approximately 46,000 tons, showing a remarkable increase as compared with the previous two years, when they amounted to 34,000 tons in 1949 and to only 13,000 tons in 1950.

The shipments of other hardwoods also increased

considerably, and reached approximately 20,000 tons in 1951, as against 3,000 tons in 1949 and 4,000 tons in 1950. Approximately half of the 1951 shipments consisted of Gurjun round logs, following the lifting of the export ban on these logs.

It is interesting to note that, contrary to the pessimistic view expressed by Mr. Sample, the Annual Report of the Union Bank of Burma says that "Although insurgent interference in transport still restricts log movements, more logs are expected to be brought down to Lower Burma saw mill in 1952."

OIL AND MINING INDUSTRY

Before the War the country produced one million tons of oil annually, but the installations in the fields and the existing refineries were destroyed during the War. However, the crude oil production in the Chauk and Lanywa oilfield rose to nearly 650,000 barrels in 1951 (an increase of nearly 50 per cent over the 1950 output), and in November, 1951, the first oil well to be drilled since the War, was "spudded in" by the Prime Minister of Burma. It is expected that the new refinery at Chauk will start operations by the end of this year. It is to be hoped that the work between the three oil companies,

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which were active in Burma before the War, and the Government of Burma will proceed smoothly, and that this industry will then be able to contribute to the well-being of the country and its population. The importance of the industry can be gauged from the fact that in 1938 the value of the mineral oil exports amounted to over 103 million rupees representing nearly 50 per cent of the value of that year's rice exports.

Mining activities were severely restricted by insurgent interference, and the year's output remained at the very low level of 1949. The well-known Mawchi mine was still occupied by the insurgents, and the situation in the Tavoy district continued to be adverse. It is difficult to assess the prospects of an increased output of the mining industry in the near future, but the formation of the Burma Corporation (1951) Ltd., it is hoped, will have some beneficial results. Another industry which has suffered seriously from rebel interference is the rubber

planting industry, and it is deplorable, from the long-term view, that only a little replanting has been carried out.

On the bright side of the picture, however, is the increase of the areas undercultivation of cotton, groundnuts and sesamum.

CONCLUSION

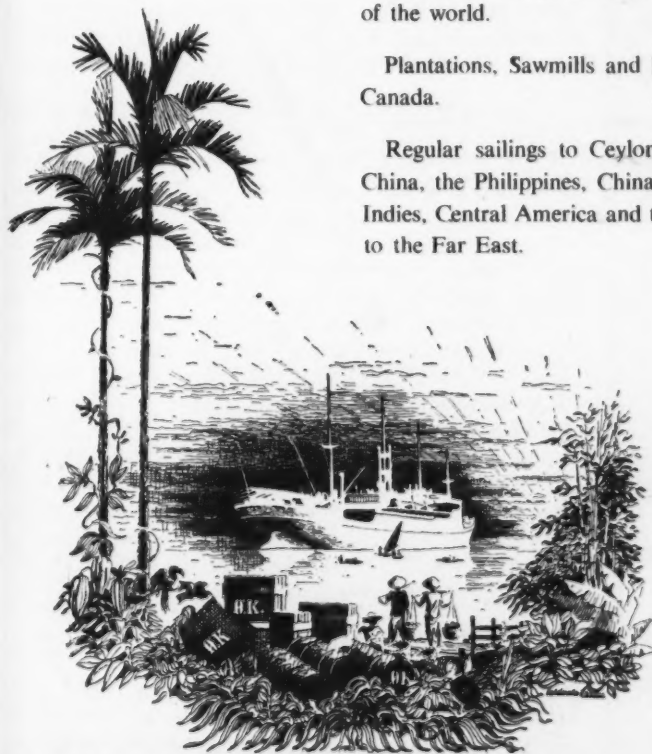
The Burmese call their country the "golden country." The land possesses manifold natural resources which should guarantee the well-being of her people. The internal disorders and, to some extent, the teething troubles of a young State hampered the economic development of the country. The political problems of Burma are dealt with in other articles in this issue, but it must be stressed that the political and economic problems are closely connected, and that a bold Government programme for the pacification of the country must go hand-in-hand with a bold programme of economic development.

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Hong Kong's Trade with Scandinavia

AN analysis of Hong Kong's trade with the three Scandinavian countries during the first quarter of 1952, shows that the Scandinavian countries continued to have a favourable balance in their trade with Hong Kong. Sweden and Norway considerably increased their exports as compared with the corresponding period of last year, while Denmark's exports registered a drop during the same period. On the other hand, both Denmark's and Norway's imports remained static compared with the previous year, while Sweden's imports from Hong Kong decreased.

	<i>Hong Kong's Imports</i> (first Quarter)		<i>Hong Kong's Exports</i> (first Quarter)	
	1951	1952	1951	1952
Sweden	6.7	12.4	2.1	0.9
Norway	2.4	8.9	1.8	1.9
Denmark	5.3	2.6	2.0	2.0

(All figures in million H.K. dollars)

During the first quarter of 1952 imports from Sweden included newsprint (H.K. \$1.3 million), Kraft paper (H.K. \$2.6 million), other packing and wrapping paper (H.K. \$1.5 million), printing and writing paper (H.K. \$2 million), fibreboard (H.K. \$0.3 million), as well as other qualities of paper and paper board, and hand tools (H.K. \$130,000), agricultural machinery and implements, typewriters, textile machinery and accessories (H.K. \$295,160), various electric machinery and appliances, including electric apparatus for medical purposes (H.K. \$907,417). Hong Kong exports included tung oil (H.K. \$438,984), pottery electric torches of local manufacture (H.K. \$73,463), and gloves and mittens. Imports from Norway included newsprint (H.K. \$5.3 million), printing and writing paper (H.K. \$1.8 million), Kraft paper (H.K. \$0.2 million), other packing and wrapping paper (H.K. \$0.5 million). Exports to Norway included feathers (H.K. \$1.3 million), tung oil (H.K. \$321,153), meat extracts and preparations (H.K. \$0.2 million).

Imports from Denmark included beer (H.K. \$0.7 million), meat extracts and preparations (H.K. \$352,441), paints, enamels (H.K. \$329,577), sulphur drugs (H.K. \$320,049), paper bags and cardboard boxes (H.K. \$230,000), while the exports to Denmark were very diversified and included 83,828 lbs. feathers at the value of H.K. \$861,450.

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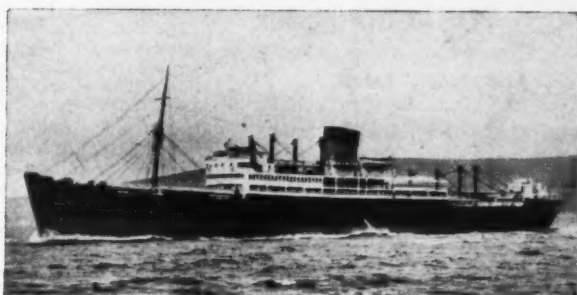
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The 49th annual general meeting of British-American Tobacco Company, Limited, was held on Friday 9th May, in London.

Mr. T. F. WINMILL (the chairman) said that prudent financial policies which had been followed consistently had had the satisfactory result that they and their associates had not been unduly embarrassed in meeting the strain of long-continued inflation, but had even been able to continue to expand business wherever a suitable opportunity offered.

It was difficult to judge the effects of the various measures proposed by the Government. There could, however, be no possible doubt about

measures which tended to hinder the rebuilding of capital in industry here and abroad.

The company contributed not inconsiderably to the balance of payments by earnings from direct exports from this country and by earnings from invisible exports in the form of dividends, interest and royalties remitted to this country from its associated companies. Taxation as it affected those earnings was of first importance to them and to the country generally.

Last year, in his absence, the vice-chairman had referred to the Finance Act, 1951, which gave the Treasury a power of veto over the removal of control of a business from the United Kingdom, the transfer of its business or part of its business to an overseas subsidiary company, and also the creation or transfer of shares in overseas subsidiaries. Despite the co-operative attitude of the officials charged with the administration of that Act, the experience the company had had of its operation during the past year in no way allayed their fears about it. No

amount of broad-minded administration within the framework of the Act could remove the damage which it was doing to the country's long-term interests. In particular, the directors feared the possible consequences which might arise from this country exercising control over matters which came within the jurisdiction of overseas Governments.

As to the future, continued increase in business depended largely on economic factors prevailing. In some areas there were signs of recession and in other areas the demand for tobacco and cigarettes remained strong, but it would not be prudent to ignore the possibility of some contraction in the demand for consumer goods such as cigarettes and other tobacco products in view of the more general adoption of disinflationary policies. Nevertheless, from the fact that for the first six months of the current financial year the sales continued to show an overall satisfactory increase they had every hope of being able to present next year results at least as satisfactory as those now before them.

The report was adopted.

INFLATION IN INDIA

and its effects on the Food Situation

By L. Delgado

IN its broad lines, the cause of the inflation that has beset India is very much like that of Britain's inflationary troubles.

To both countries the war left a legacy of monetary problems essentially similar in character. The financing of war industries pumped purchasing power into society at a time when the production of consumer goods had been deliberately restricted. Though the inflationary tendency in India during the war was not serious, a series of anti-inflationary measures were rightly adopted in 1943—mainly the rationing and price-control of foodstuffs and of other necessary goods. But some of the goods so controlled, especially grains and cloth, found their way into the black market, and so aggravated the situation. This evil was not, of course, limited to India: matters were much worse in many European countries, though not in our own.

Moreover, in India there was an influential body of opinion in Government circles and among business men which took the view that a depression would result when the Government ceased its war-time expenditure. The Government therefore asked the Provinces to undertake schemes of capital expenditure, mainly in the nature of public works. In addition, the budget of 1946-47 gave relief in taxation to the extent of Rs. 32 crores, so that private enterprise should be encouraged to go in for productive investment and thus help in preventing depression. This reasoning was logical enough, but, as so often happens, theory and practice went their different ways. The money that became available by the anti-depression measures was not used in re-equipping industry, mainly because capital equipment was difficult to obtain.

The Government itself did not reduce expenditure as rapidly as was expected, so that in a large part the measures taken were to cure an evil that had not yet arisen. The amount of money in circulation therefore made effective the pent-up demands of the people, aggravated by the demands of a large number of persons who had made big profits on the black market. Thus, far from being a depression, there existed a highly inflationary tendency. To make matters worse, rationing and price controls were abandoned in December, 1947.

Where the situation in India differs fundamentally from that of the West, is that India is not an industrial country, so that it is not within the power of industry in that country to redress the situation by itself. Even a very large increase in production—say doubling or trebling it—would have had very little effect in filling the gap in consumer goods. The overwhelming mass of the people are engaged in agriculture.

In spite of the encouragement of high prices, food production declined after the war. Total production of food grains in 1945-46 was 1 million tons below the pre-war average and some 6 million tons below the peak level of 1943-44. It must be remembered that the methods used are extremely primitive. Even before the war, India was not self-sufficing in the matter of food. Imports after the war were difficult because of world shortages and for lack of foreign exchange, and the situation was aggravated by an increase in the population of the Indian Union from 298 million in 1941 to 342 million in 1948. Partition did not help



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matters. Pakistan comprises areas that yield a food surplus: although it has only 13% of the cultivated area of the sub-continent, its share of the irrigated area is 28%. Pakistan has 19½% of the total population but produces 24½% of the food grains (34% of wheat). Thus the food deficit of the Indian Union is much worse than that of India before partition.

In these circumstances de-control was a disastrous policy to adopt. Had there existed large quantities of essential goods in private hoards or even on the black market, the policy might have answered, but the quantities of such goods were not large enough to meet all demands. Decontrol therefore resulted in high prices. To make matters worse, the Government became involved in heavy expenditure, especially for defence and refugees (following the Punjab tragedy) and on food subsidies. These expenses were not covered by taxation or loans (which would have skimmed off surplus purchasing power) and the result was inflation. At the same time there occurred a severe fall in savings (even disinvestment). That savings fell was not due to a fall in income levels (the contrary is true) but to a tendency to spend more even to the extent of extravagance.

These, then, are the origins of the inflation in India. Let us say at once that it is not a runaway inflation. It is no worse than in this country, but in both countries it is potentially dangerous.

INFLATIONARY TENDENCIES

A contributory cause of inflation has been the relatively heavy deficit spending on the part of the Government, i.e. expenditure in excess of receipts from taxes and loans. Expenditure on defence, which might legitimately have been expected to contract considerably in 1946, did not decline as much as it should because the wide-spread riots in the north after partition required military operations, while the police force had to be strengthened. The world situation in subsequent years was such that the Government had to spend huge sums on defence. The Kashmir trouble, too, kept up expenditure on this account. The mass migration of refugees which followed the Punjab troubles entailed the expenditure of large sums in feeding and clothing a very large number of people. Under this head alone, the Government spent Rs. 22 crores between August, 1947 and March, 1948. Food subsidies are also an important source of expenditure, estimated at Rs. 100 crores a year in the years following partition. It is true that a large part of this expenditure is recovered when the produce is distributed, but often the Government is unable to recover the cost price. Increases in pay to Government officials (including employees of the railways and the postal services) amounted to Rs. 52½ crores in 1947-48 and were a recurring expenditure.

Capital expenditure included, besides the cost of defence, such non-cash transactions as the capitalization of sterling pensions and the transfer of rupee securities to the International Monetary Fund, as an additional contribution consequent upon devaluation. The overall deficits of the Government reflecting current and capital transactions in the years 1948-1949-1950 appear to have been largely covered by drawings on the cash balances of the Treasury and, to a much lesser extent, by borrowing. Between 1st April, 1948 and 31st March, 1949, the cash balance declined from Rs. 2,739 million to Rs. 1,922 million, and in the following year the decline was about 1,000 million.

These remarks are not to be interpreted as criticism of the Government. Confronted with heavy responsibilities towards its vast population in dangerous times, the Government could not well have done less. The wonder is that the inflation was not worse.

DEVALUATION

However desirable partition might be on political and religious grounds, it proved disastrous on economic grounds, and this soon became evident when India and Pakistan failed to

adopt the same currency policy upon devaluation in the United Kingdom. India had been experiencing an overall unfavourable balance of payments, amounting to Rs. 1,776 million for the six months January-June, 1949. The deficit with the hard-currency areas during the same period was Rs. 495 million. The tendency was for these deficits to become progressively worse, the reason being, not the lifting of import controls as some contended, but the decline in export value due to a fall in the prices of certain commodities, notably of jute manufactures. It was hoped that a devaluation of the rupee would solve the balance of payments difficulty. Accordingly, the currency was devalued in relation to the American dollar to the same extent as sterling had been. The temptation to devalue was strong. The rupee was worth only one-third of its pre-war value in terms of the cost of living index, and only 40% if we take the price of gold as a criterion. Three-quarters of India's export trade was with countries of the soft currency areas, which had devalued their currencies, and had India not devalued she would certainly have had difficulties in selling her products.

But the benefits of devaluation anywhere are of comparatively short duration, as we know in this country, for reasons into which we need not enter here (the chief being that the prices of imports are thereby increased). The Government of India was not unmindful of the objections to devaluation, and it took certain immediate drastic measures to counteract the ill effects. Devaluation is nearly always followed by a rise in the internal price level. In order to check this, the Government was empowered to impose export duties when necessary on shipments of vegetable oils, steel, tobacco, and certain other commodities, and some duties were actually imposed. The West Bengal Government was asked to ban forward trading in jute, which it did. Pakistan had not devalued its currency, and the Reserve Bank of India refused to quote for Pakistan rupees, and this obliged India to suspend the open general licence for goods of Pakistan origin.

As a long-term policy, the Government announced an eight-point programme: a minimum expenditure of foreign exchange; purchase on government account of industrial materials and supplies from non-devaluing countries at fair and reasonable prices; the prevention of speculation; measures to increase foreign exchange earnings; the encouragement of saving by the people; the voluntary settlement of taxes payable in respect of war profits; economy in government expenditure; and a 10% reduction in the retail prices of essential commodities, manufactured goods and food grains. It will readily be seen that some of these measures are more easily attainable than others: indeed, some of them are little more than pious resolutions, but no more naive than some of the measures taken in the West against the same evil.

The lack of co-ordination between the monetary policies of India and Pakistan had serious consequences for both countries. The latter country has three times the raw jute production of India but has no facilities for jute manufacture, while India has 113 jute mills. India thus imports about 500,000 tons of jute every year from Pakistan to keep its mills working. The devaluation of the Indian rupee substantially raised the cost of raw jute to India. The increased costs of manufacture largely nullified the advantages which Indian exports of jute products would otherwise have derived from devaluation. India became unwilling to buy at these higher prices (in terms of its own currency) and for some time purchases were suspended. Threatened by the serious loss arising from this situation, Pakistan established a Bank whose function was to purchase the jute coming on the market at a minimum price. Pakistan established jute mills, while India, on its part, set out to grow more jute. In the meantime, the uncertainties of the situation were undermining the competitive position of jute throughout the world, especially in the U.S.A., where the use of the multi-wall paper bag began to expand.

(To be continued)

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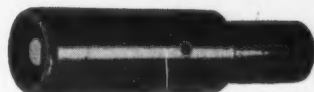
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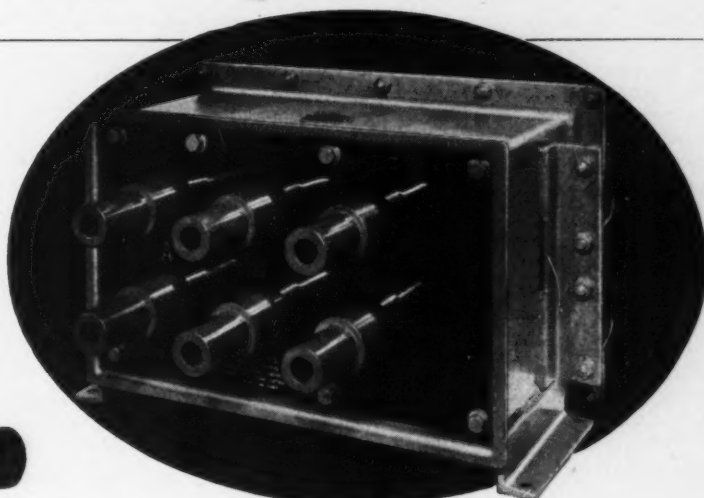
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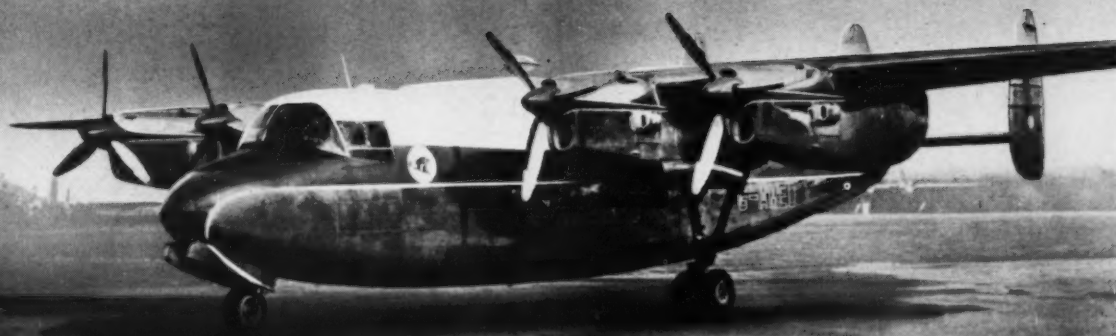
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was using mercury compounds early in the sixteenth century. In agriculture they are used in the manufacture of seed dressings. Oxides of the metal are used in special marine paints, and the bright scarlet pigment, vermilion, is made from mercuric sulphide. Fulminate of mercury, a powerful explosive, is used in the manufacture of detonators.

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